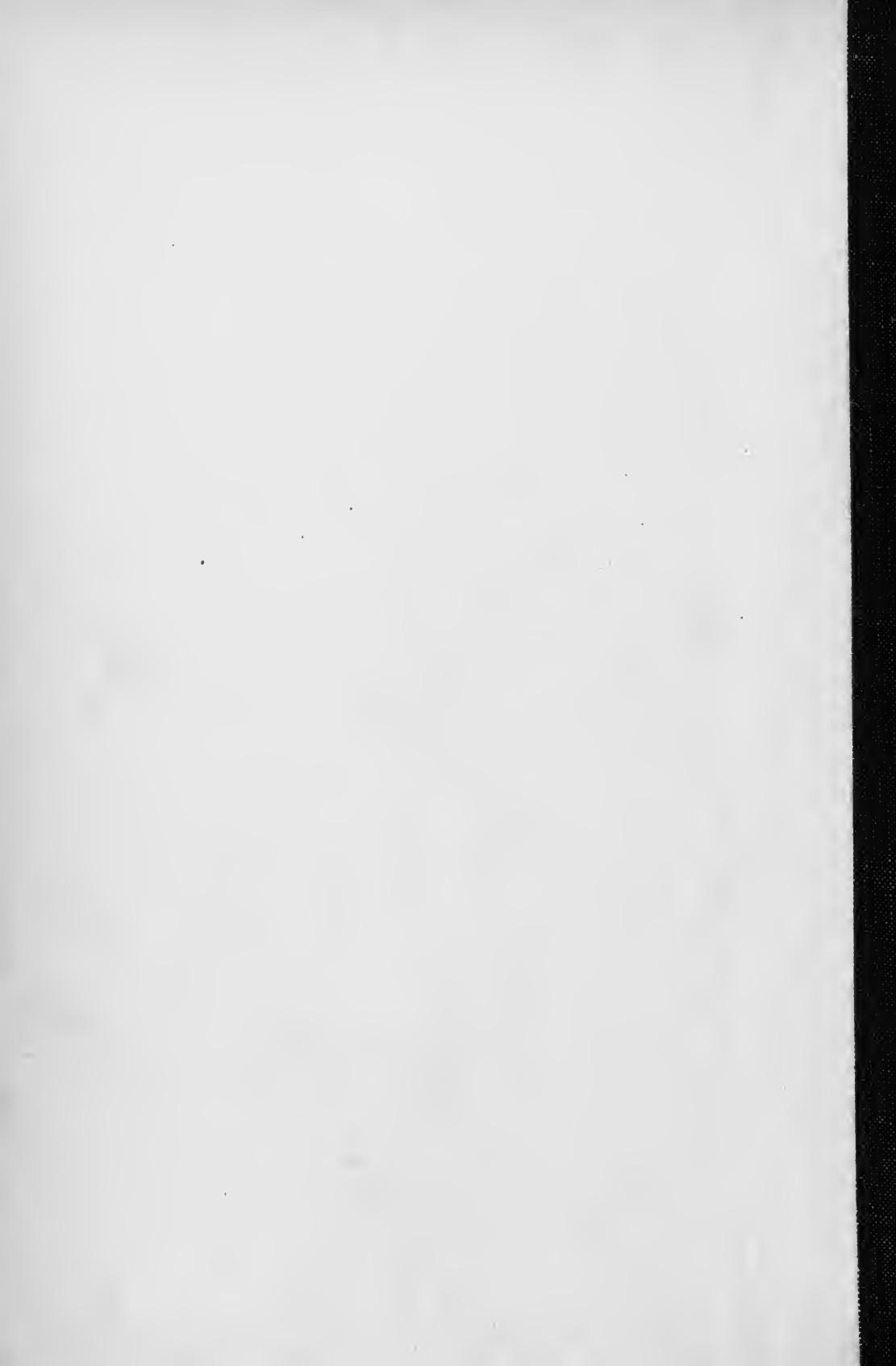


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I

Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift

AND

The Passionate Morrice.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

THOMAS POWELL'S

Tom of all Trades.

The Glasse of Godly Loue.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)



New Shakspeare Society,
" [Publications]

Series 6 : Nos. 2-3

Shakespere's England

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT

BEING

ROBIN GOOD-FELLOWES NEWES OUT OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE
INHABITES NEITHER CHARITY NOR HONESTY.

WITH HIS OWNE INUECTIUE AGAINST IELOSY.

AND

THE PASSIONATE MORRICE.

1593.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

1600.

THOMAS POWELL'S

TOM OF ALL TRADES.

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PREFERMENT.

BEING

A DISCOVERY OF A PASSAGE TO PROMOTION IN ALL PROFESSIONS, TRADES,
ARTS, AND MYSTERIES.

1631.

35318
10/9/194

THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOUE.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

1569.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A., CAMB.,

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§ 1. HERE are reprints of three rare tracts, of which the first two are on the England of Elizabeth's time (1593, 1600), and the third is written by a man of her time, tho' not publisht till the seventh year of Charles the First's reign (1631). The fourth scrap is before 1600.

The printing of the first tract was urg'd on me by my friend Mr W. C. Hazlitt, because there was only one copy of it known to him, and that at Peterborough Cathedral Library, quite out of the way of the ordinary student. As this tract dealt with the husband-and-wife question in Shakspere's young days, and mainly took-up the other side (the woman's) to that which Shakspere backt in *The Comedy of Errors* (Act II. sc. i. ; V. i. 68—86), I was glad to recommend it to the friend and fellow-member of our Society¹ who had offerd to give us a Shakspere's-England reprint of moderate size. Otherwise its inner worth would not have given it so early a place in our Sixth Series. But still, for the social condition of England in Shakspere's time, this *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* of 1593 has great interest, so far as the family life of the middle classes is concernd: Oddly enough, too, it does illustrate aptly a bit of the last long speech of Suffolk in *1 Henry VI*, V. v. 48—54 (tho' I suppose that is not Shakspere's), about the young king's choice of the dowerless Margaret:

¹ He has made it a condition that his name be not mentiond.

x Forewords. § 1. Elizabethan and Victorian Morals.

Suf. A dower, my lords ! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich :
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.

At p. 61-2, of Tell-Troth's Part II, *The Passionate Morrice*, we come on the following passage :—

" Fie, fie ! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their chil-dren. He that bids most, shal speed soonest ; & so he hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so ; & I wil assure you, loues com-mon-wealth wil neuer florish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will glie with his childe ; and what is that differing from cheapening an Ox? And it is as com-mon, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer."

This cannot be calld an advance on the low part of the earlier *Paston-Letters* view of the marriage question.¹

I do not want to puff our Victorian time against the Elizabethan. We have faults enough, God knows. There *may* be a few beings calld women now extant, who justify the sketches that reviews tell us sensation-novelists draw, and that prurient article-writers affect to denounce,² but surely no one can turn from the cuckoo cry which the *Love's-Labours-Lost* end song, and almost all Elizabethan books on social life, echo ; no one can contrast Shakspere's doctrine on the relation of husband and wife in *The Errors* (First-Period) and *Taming of the Shrew*, with Tennyson's in *The Princess*,³ without

¹ There is also proof of plenty of true love in these Letters ; and Margaret Paston, the heroine of the volumes, is not far from being a model wife of the time.

² See my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 2.

³ There's nothing, situate under hea-ven's eye,
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in
sky :
The beasts, the fishes, and the winged
fowls,
Are their males' subject, and at their
controls :
Men, more divine, the masters of all
these,

Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives, and this proud watch-
word rest
Of equal ; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal, nor unequal : each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in
thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they
grow,

feeling that enormous moral progress has been made since the Elizabethan time in the relations of the sexes, and of husband and wife.¹

The comparison of *Love's Labours Lost* with *The Princess* is full of interest; and though the contrast of the converse excluders of the opposite sex in the two works strikes a student of both poets at first sight, I have never seen or heard it alluded-to in any criticism of the poem or play. The comparison of *In Memoriam* with the *Sonnets* has been indeed mentioned, but never workt out, full of interest as the subject is. Victorians need not fear to set Arthur Hallam by Shakspere's Will H., or the grounds of Tennyson's affectionate reverence for his friend, by those of Shakspere's love for his.

Assuming, then, that the full description by the unknown 1593 TELL-TROTHER² of the causes of Jealousy in English husbands, and

Lords of the wide world, and wild
wat'ry seas,
Indued with intellectual sense and
souls,
Of more pre-eminence than fish and
fowls,
Are masters to their females, and their
lords :
Then let your will attend on their ac-
cords.—Luciana, in *Errors*, II. i.
(Cp. Milton's view.)

The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-cell'd heart, beating, with one
full stroke,
Life.

The Princess, p. 157, 1st ed., 1847.

¹ The views of our narrow-minded (and often caddish) folk, as well as those of our broader-minded and more generous men, on the Woman-question, are annually stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Woman's-Suffrage Bill, or any attempt to admit women to the learned professions. Women still wait for justice and fair-play.

² *Indouinello*, a tell-truth, a tom-tell-troth.—1598; Florio. For the second name of the title, Robin Goodfellow (or Hobgoblin), see Shakspere's *Mid-summer Night's Dream*, II. i. 34, 40, Cotgrave, and Florio:

Follet; or, *Esprit follet*. An Hobgoblin, *Robin-goodfellow*, Bugbear.—1611; Cotgrave.

Luton: m. A Goblin, Bug, *Robin-good-fellow*, merrie diuell, that vses to mocke, and deceiue, sillie people.—1611; Cotgrave.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe ... also a *Hobgoblin*, Hob-thrush, *Robin-good-fellow*; also a night-walker, or flie-light; one thats neuer seene but by Owle-light.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, *Robin-good-fellow*, Hob-thrush; a spirit which playes reakes in mens houses anights.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutiner. To play the Goblin, or night-spirit; to keepe a foule rumbling, or terrible racket vp and down a house in the night.—1611; Cotgrave.

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a *robin goodfellow*, a hob-goblin, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or marc.—1598; Florio.

the relation of father and daughter, husband and wife, justifies the appearance of our first tract, in this volume, I pass on to the second, John Lane's *Tom Tel-troths Message and his Pens Complaint*, of 1600, when Shakspere was writing, or had just written, his brilliant Second-Period *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*.

§ 2. John Lane is known to manuscript men by his still unprinted completion of Chaucer's *Squires Tale*,¹ and his re-telling of the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*, the prose Forewords to which are printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 521-5, from the Harleian MS. 5243 in the British Museum. He is not mentioned in Edmund Howes's list of English poets with "Willi. Shakespeare gentleman" (Continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, ed. 1615, p.

Mani ... hobgoblins, or elfes, or such misshapen images or imagined spirits that nurces fraie their babes withall, to make them leave crying, as we say bug-beare, or els, rawe head and bloodie bones.—1598; Florio.

Lemuri, the ghosts or spirits of such as dye before their time, or *hobgoblins*, black bugs, or nightwalking spirits.—ib. And see *Manduco*.

¹ Thus describ'd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., 1845, col. 91-2 :

No. 53. A small quarto volume, containing 81 leaves of paper, gilt at the edges, beside three on which are written the title and introductory pieces: it is very neatly written, as for a presentation copy; and the royal Arms are stamped on the covers.

"Chaucer's Piller, beinge his Master-peece, called the Squires Tale, wch hath binn given [up as] lost, for all most thense three hundred yeares: but now found out, and brought to light by John Lane. 1630."

On the back of the title is an acrostic (forming "Maria Anglie. C. M.") from "The Muse to the soveraigne bewtie of our adreadded sovereign lord King Charles:" which introduces an affected dedication, followed by 8 lines from "The Muse to the fowre winds," by "J. L." and 6 lines to the author by Thomas Windham, of Keinsford, co. Somerset, Esq., one of the Justices. On the fourth page are 4 stanzas from the fourth book of the Faerie Queene by "The poet Spencer, uppon the loss of that peece of Chaucers." Then follow the Description of the Squier by Chaucer (in his prologue to the Canterbury Tales, v. 79-100), and "The Squires prolog, as it is in Chaucer," and "The Squiers tale as it is in Chaucer," the text of which on f. i.

The two first parts of this poem, and the two first lines of the third part, are copied from Chaucer; at the end of the second (f. 10^b) is this note—"Heare followeth my suppliment to bee inserted in place of that of Chaucer's which is missing. J. L." This long poem, which bears no just proportion to Chaucer's tales, consists of twelve parts or cantos, to each of which is prefixed a summary stanza of 4 lines. At the end are an Epilogus (f. 79^b), "The Marchantes wordes to the Squier, and the Hostes wordes to the Marchant as they are in Chaucer" (f. 80), and "Comparatio," f. 80^b.

On the back of f. 81, Ashmole has written an extract from Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," about Canace, the heroine of this story.

811, col. 2); but, as the friend of Milton's father, he is done more than justice to by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, who in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, thus describes Lane:—

"A fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublish'd, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gain'd him a name not much inferiour, if not equal, to *Drayton* and others of the next rank to *Spencer*; but they are all to be produc't in Manuscript: namely, his *Poetical Vision*¹; his *Alarm to the Poets* [1648]; his *Twelve Months*¹; his *Guy of Warwick*, a Heroic Poem (at least as much as many others that are so Entitled); and lastly his Supplement to *Chaucer's Squires Tale*."—1675, p. 111-12; edition 1824, p. xxiii. See also Winstanley's *Lives of the Poets*, p. 100 [which only repeats part of Phillips].—Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 326, col. 2.

Besides the above, John Lane² wrote

"An Elegie vpon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soueraigne Elizabeth. By I. L. Imprinted at London for John Deane, at Temple-barre. 1603; 4to, 7 leaves. Bodleian (Malone) *ib.*; and

"Tritons Trumpet, 1620." (Hazlitt.)

His *Tom Tel-Troths Message* is a poem of 120 six-line stanzas, in which he complains of his countrymen's naughtinesses. The closest handling of his subject is in pages 119—134, where he deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. This should be compared with the like part in *The Times Whistle*, by R. C., about 1616 A.D., edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr J. M. Cowper in 1871.

Lane first complains of the Pope, the Cardinals, priests, monks, friars, and all 'this popish ribble-rabble route,'³ stanzas 14-19, p. 113-114. Then he laments vaguely the state of 'Englands two Vniuersities,' and the Seven Liberal Sciences, p. 115-118, of which, Grammar 'stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,' l. 149, and Poetry brings no solace to country swains, who fancy more 'the winding of an horne,' l. 208, while ballad-makers pen 'new gigges for a countrie clowne,' l. 216, and 'bastard braines' with their base rymes work Poetry's infamy, l. 226.

¹ See *Percy Folio*, ii. 522, col. 1, at foot. The Poetical Visions was to have 'first and second partes.'

² Under A.D. 1572, Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. i, col. 189, notes,—when speaking of John Lane, of Christ Church, who died in 1578—"There was one John Lane, a poet, about this time."

³ Compare *The Image of Ypocresye*, &c., in my *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 181-266.

Next come the Seven Deadly Sins. Under (1) *Pride*, Lane abuses the ‘fine-ruft Ruffines,’ st. 42, p. 119; the dandies ‘full trick and trim tir’d in the lookinge glasse,’ l. 255, casting sheeps-eyes¹, &c., walking with fantastical gait, st. 45, wearing long hair or curld locks, st. 46, resembling every shape like Proteus,² and every colour like the chameleon, st. 47; drest in the snip-snap jagd clothes, st. 48, that in former fashions Chaucer in his *Parsons Tale*, and so many other complainers from time to time condemnd; and with wingd sleeves, round hose, cloaks short and long, st. 51, p. 121. Then the women are scolded for their dress: bold Beatrice with her wires—that movd Stubbis’s wrath—tires, periwig, and caul (st. 52); with feathers (which men wear too), st. 53, 54; pumps, pantofles, corkt shoes (st. 55, p. 122), and fans (st. 56). The picture alluded-to in stanzas 57-8, of the Englishman set alone, in other folks’ feathers, I have not come across.³ Andrew Boorde’s caricature, given at p. 167 of my *Harrison*, is the only one of the kind I know.

Under (2) *Envie*, the only special hits are at the Minstrels daily striving with blind fiddlers, l. 398, p. 124, the justling Jacks driving their betters to the wall, l. 400, and the scoffers ‘with rimes and riddles rating at their foe,’ l. 405.

Under (3) *Wrath*, we have the fights in Smithfield, the lines that make one think of the sad death of Marlowe in a quarrel for a drab, st. 76, p. 126. Then Wrath’s contraries are dwelt-on in st. 80-1, p. 127, Chaucer’s other ‘vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferaunce’ (*Remedium contra Iram*), being treated as two.

(4) *Sloth* or Idleness has no local colour.

Avarice (5) repeats Harrison’s complaints in his *Description*, II. 18, p. 296, &c., how ‘She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,’ st. 90, p. 129, and specially ‘engrosseth all the corne,’ l. 547; and leads to Usury (Harrison, p. 242), the two making the proudest cavaliers stoop, and penning ‘them vp within the Poultries coope,’ in gaol, st. 94. Avarice too leads to landlords racking the rents of houses and lands, p. 130, of which Crowley, Harrison, my *Ballads from MSS. i.*, the *Supplications* (E. E. Text Soc.), &c. &c., complain so bitterly.

Of *Gluttony* (6) Lane says, p. 131, that it is allied to Lechery and Drunkenness:—

¹ Compare Laneham with the Ladies, in his *Letter of 1575*, p. 60 of my ed.

² Compare Andrew Boorde, and Harrison’s *Description*, II. vii, p. 167, &c. Also Stubbis.

³ Perhaps it’s in the *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits*, Paris, 1562 (A. Boorde, p. 323).

| | |
|--|------------|
| This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie In sauced meates and sugred delicates, And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie To spend their substance vpon whorish mates. | 601 604 |
|--|------------|

Under *Lechery*, the seventh and last Deadly Sin, Lane's stanza 109, p. 132, evidently alludes to Shakspere's *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. He regrets the infection of the French disease, st. 110, p. 133, the wide-spread cuckoldry of his day, st. 113, and the 'light-tayle huswiues' showing and vaunting themselves in (?) Shakspere's Globe theatre, 'the Banke-sides round-house,' where in 1599—perhaps at its opening—he brought out his triumphant *Henry V*. Then Lane stops, not for want of further matter, st. 120, p. 135, but because his pen is dry. And he affirms, l. 713-14,

.... *Tom Teltroth* will not lie,
We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

(I pay for the present reprint of Lane and the extract from Pritchard or Rogers at the end of this volume.)

§ 3. Our third tract is by a reverencer of Bacon in his distress, a rollicking attorney and Welshman, Thomas Powell, who seems to have begun writing very bad serious poetry in 1598 and 1601, and then turnd to chaffing prose,—still intersperst with scraps of bad verse,—and divers professional handbooks, till he ended his career of authorship in 1631¹ with his *Tom of all Trades*, here reprinted.² My attention was first calld to the last-nam'd book during my inquiries into 'Education in Early England,'³ by Warton's extract from it in his *History of English Poetry*, § 58, vol. iv, p. 304, note 3, ed. Hazlitt.⁴

There being no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and the second edition being conceald by its title, I waited till a visit to the Bodleian enabl'd me to read the book there; and I found it interesting enough to justify its reproduction here. As Powell was Shakspere's contemporary, his account of how fathers then pusht their sons and daughters on in life, tho' not publisht till 1631,

¹ He may of course have seen through the press some of the later editions of his *Attourneys Academy*, &c.

² There may have been two Thomas Powells. But as the one of 1603-1631 had both a serious and a humorous style in his prose, and in his verse in his prose-books, I see no sufficient reason for supposing that he is not the serious-style verse-writer of 1598-1601.

³ See the Forewords to my *Babees Book*, E. E. Text Soc. 1868.

⁴ I have also had copied for the Society, Edward Hake's *Touchstone for this time present*, 1574, for its bit about girls' education and amusements, partly quoted by Warton in the same note. But the rest of the book is preachy and dull.

covers Shakspere's time, and enables us to realize a bit of his fellow countrymen's being. Our Member, Miss E. Phipson of Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke, kindly bears the cost of this Powell reprint.

Of Thomas Powell's first publication, *Loues Leprosie* (W. White, 1598), a quarto of ten leaves, only one copy is known, that of Mr Christie-Miller, at Britwell. It was reprinted by my friend Dr Rimbault for the Percy Society in his five "Ancient Poetical Tracts of the Sixteenth Century,"¹ reprinted from unique copies formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Caldecott, Esq." 1842. The poem is on the death of Achilles, through his love for Priam's daughter Polyxena. Here are three extracts from it, on that love, on Achilles's fight with Troilus, and on Achilles's death from the arrow shot into his only vulnerable spot, his heel:—

" Achilles loues Polyxene : What is shee ?
 The lyuing daughter of his enemie.
 How shall he woe her, that hath wed another ?
 How shall he winne her, that hath slaine her brother ?
 His trophees and his triumphes she doth hate ;
 In Hectors death his vallor liued too late ;
 Liue blest in this, that thou art Orpheus brother :
 Hee none of thine, nor Thetis is his mother."—p. 71.

" Well mounted and well met, they ioyne togeather
 Like flowdes, whose rushing, cause tempestuous weather ;
 And now their clattering shildes resemble thunder :
 The fire, a lightning when the cloudes do sunder :
 Long did it thunder ere the heavens were bright ;
 So long, that when it cleared, the day was night ;
 A night perpetuall vnto Priams sonne ;
 His horse was slaine, the day was lost and won ;
 And heere each one might heare windes whispering sound,
 When earst the drums their senses did confound ;
 Troilus dethes chiefe conquest from the felde ;
 Wrapt in their colours, couered with their shielde,
 They carry him to make the number more,
 Whose bleeding sydes Achilles speare did gore."—p. 78.

" Foorthwith a marriage twixt them was concluded ;
 Alas, that true loue should be so deluded !
 The sunne is rose, sees Thetis sonne to fall
 Vnder this false pretended nuptiall.
 The Delphick oracle is now fulfilde,
 'Eare Troy be wonne, Achilles must be kilde.'

¹ 1. The Doctrinall of good Servauntes. 2. The Boke of Mayd Emlyn. 3. The New Nutbrownne Mayd. 4. The Complaynt of a dolorous Louer. 5. *Loues Leprosie*.

This is the day wherein they surfe all,
With blood of his who made the Troians thrall ;
And this the day wherein he did appease
Vnquiet soules, which earst could finde no ease.
This day was nyght to him, and day to those
By whom vntimely death did heere repose.
His liues familiar starre doth shoote and gall,
The fairest starre the heauens weare gracie withall,
Euen when his steppes salute the temple porch
With hymmes, and Hymæn[e]us burning torch,
A shaft from Paris hand did soone disclose
Where Styx had kist him, and how high it rose.
Where the Stygian flood did neuer reach,
Deathes winged messenger did make a breach,
Whence from each veine the sacred breath descending,
Polyxens ioyes began, and his had ending.

Finis."

p. 79.

Powell's second book, I have not seen. Mr Hazlitt believes that the unique copy from Heber's sale is at Britwell, and gives it as

"The Passionate Poet. With a Description of the Thracian Iemarus. By T. P. London, printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill, at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601. 4to. 26 leaves."

Of the third book, which is a very rare¹ black-letter quarto of 16 leaves, Mr Henry Huth has, with his unvarying kindness, lent me his copy. It is a tract written just before and just after Queen Elizabeth's death: 1. justifying the reasonableness of her dealing with Papists on the one hand, and Dissenters on the other (see the first two extracts on p. xviii, xix); 2. chaffily describing the effect produc't by the news of Elizabeth's death, the disturbances likely to arise from it, and the quieting of them by the happy proclamation of James I; 3. arguing that the Scotch and English are of like nature, and fit to form one nation; in this, the opposite of the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*,² and too of Andrew Boorde with his "Trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes; & all is falsholde :" see the amusing bits in my edition of Boorde (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 59, note 3, p. 135-8. The title of this third book is

¹ It was suppress'd. Valentine Simmes was fined 13*s.* 4*d.* on Dec. 5, 1603, for printing it and a ballad. See p. 192, below.

² "there is noch tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men :" for, in short, the Englishmen are devils, and the Scotchmen are angels. But note Andrew Boorde's "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposicion of a Scotysh man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man." p. 137.

xviii Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's *Welch Bayte*.

A / WELCH BAYTE / to spare Prouder. / Or, / A looking
backe vpon the / Times past. / Written Dialogue wise. / This
ooke is diuided into three parts, / The first, a briefe discourse of
Englands Securitie, while her / late Maiestie was liuing, with the
maner of her proceeding in / Gouernment, especially towards the
Papists and Puritanes of / England, whereof a Letter written late
before her death, speci-/fies, as followeth in this first part. / The
second, A description of the Distractions during her / Maiesties
sickenesse, with the composing of them. / The third, Of the Apt-
nesse of the English and the Scotte to / incorporate and become one
entire Monarchie : with the / meanes of preserueng their vnion euer-
lastingly, added there-/vnto. [Scroll.] Printed at London by Valen-
tine Simmes. / 1603.

The extracts above referrd to, p. xvii, on Elizabeth's treatment of Romanists and Dissenters follow :—

“ But when about the twentieth yeare of hir raigne shee had dis-
couered in the King of Spaine an intention to inuade hir dominions,
and that a principall point of the plotte was to prepare a partie with
in the realme that might adhere to the forreiner, and that the Semina-
ries began to blossom, and to send forth dayly, priests and pro-
fessed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her sub-
iects from their obedience, yea and binde many of them to attempt
against her Maiesties sacred person, and that by the poysone which
they spred, the humors of most *Papists* were altered, and that they
were no more *Papists* in conscience and of Softenes, but *Papists* in
faction ; then were there newe lawes made for the punishment of
such as should submitte them selues to such reconcilements or re-
nuntiations of obedience ; And because it was a treason carried in
the clowdes and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldome to light,
and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusancie
to come to diuine seruice : Because it was sette downe by their
decrees, That, *To come to Church before reconcilement, was to liue in
schisme* ; But, *To come to Church after reconcilement, was absolutely
hereticall and damnable*,

Therefore there were added Lawes containing punishment *pecu-
niarie* against such Recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to en-
feeble and impouerish the meanes of those of whom it rested
indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no.

And when, notwithstanding all this prouision, this poysone was
dispersed so secretly, as that there was no meanes to stay it but by
restraining the Merchants that brought it in,

Then lastly, was there added a Lawe whereby such seditious
priests of the new erection were exiled ; and those that were at that
time within the land shipped ouer, and so commanded to keepe
hence, vpon paine of treason.

[sign. B 4, bk] This hath beeene the proceeding, though intermingled,

not only with sundrie examples of hir Maiesties grace towards such as in her wisdome she knewe to be *Papists* in Conscience, and not in Faction and Singularitie; but also with an ordinarie mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree conuicted by lawe: If they would but protest, that if in case this realme should be inuaded with a forreine armie by the Popes authoritie, for the Catholique cause, (as they terme it) they would take part with hir Maiestie, and not adhere to hir enemies.

For the other part which haue bin offensiu to the State, though in other degree, which name themselues *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritanes*; this hath bin the proceeding towards them.

A great while when they inueighed against such abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities*, *Nonresidence* & the like; their zeale was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured.

When they refused the vse of some ceremonies and rites, as superstitions, they were tollerated with much conniuerce, and gentlenes: Yea, when they called in question the Superioritie of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracie* into the church; Yet, their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrarie writing, debated, and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceiued that their course was dangerous, and very popular; as, because *Papistrie* was odious, therefore it was euer in their mouthes, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of *Papistrie*; a thing acceptable to the people, who loue euer to run from one extreame, to another.

Because multitude of Rogues, and Pouertie were an eye-soare, and dislike to euerie man, therefore they put it into the peoples head: That, if Discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds, nor beggers (a thing very plausible,) and in like manner, they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline.

Besides, they opened the people a way to gouernment by their *Consistorie*, and *Presbyterie*, a thing though in consequence no lesse præiudiciale to the liberties of priuate men, then to the soueraignty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular. Neuerthelesse all this (exempt it were in some few that entered into extreame contempts) was borne, because they pretended but in dutifull maner to make propositions, and to leauie it to the prouidence of God, and the authoritie of the Magistrate.

But now of late yeares, when there issued from them, as it were a Colonie of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when vnder pretence of a confession, to auoide slauders and imputations, they combined themselues by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile & base meanes of defacing the gouernment of the Church by rediculous *Pusquils*¹; When they beganne to make many subiects in doubt to

¹ The Martin Marprelate controversy began in 1589.

xx Forewords. § 3. Powell and Lord Southampton.

take an oath, which is one of the fundamentall parts of Iustice in this Land and in all places ; When they beganne both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partizans, and followers, and to vse communications that their cause would preuaile, though with vproare and violence ; Then it appeared to be no more zeale, no more conscience, but meere faction and devision : And therefore though the State was compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restraine them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church & State could permitte.

And therefore, Sir, (to conclude,) consider vprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Maiestie is no temporizer in religion ; she builds not religion vpon policie, but policie vpon religion ; It is not the successe abroade, nor the change of seruants here at home can alter her ; onely as the things themselues alter, so she applieth hir religious wisdome to correspond vnto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, & yet in discouering Faction from Conscience, & Softnes from Singulartie. Farewell.

Your louing friend
T. P."

The *Welch Bayte* is dedicated by Powell to Shakspere's patron, Lord Southampton, but oddly makes no allusion to that Lord's being set free from the Tower on James I.'s accession. He was committed there for his share in Essex's rebellion in Feb. 1600-1. Perhaps lines 2 and 4 below mean that his committal was unjust.

[sign. A, back] A Prelude vpon the name of
Henry VVriothesly *Earle of*
South-hampton.

Euer.

WHoso beholds this Leafe, therein shall reede,
A faithfull subiects name, he shall indeede ;
The grey-eyde morne in noontide clowdes may steepe,
But traytor and his name shall never meeete.

Neuer.

[sign. A 2] To the right Honorable *Henry Wri-*
othesly Earle of South-hampton
Baron of Tichfield : and of the No-
ble Order of the Garter.

Let golden artists practice quaint imposture,
And study to a semblance of perfection,
Let Leopers sweate to shew the world their moisture,
We study not to Patrones for direction :

*Vnlesse the Honor that my lines shall owe,
Can both protect vs, and approue them too.*

*And such is thine, whose beames of Patronage
Doe heate alike in Iudgement, and in blood,
Both, with pure fires deriu'd from parentage,
Preserued in the Arke of Fortunes flood,
When Neptune, and the sea gods did abette,
With Cynthia in her fullest veines aspect.*

*Thou wholesome Honour, Chaste Nobilitie,
Be in protection mine, as Generous,
Without distent though all thy auncestrie :
It was thy wont, Thou canst not erre in vs :
And for the Test sufficeth me to know ;
Thy Iudgement best deserues my lines to owe.*

Your Lordshippes
In all the nerues of my ability,
Tho : Powell.

At the end of the *Welch Bayte* are 8 lines of verse 'To the vnparyaled blesst disposition, *The Lady Elizabeth Bridges*'; two 6-line stanzas 'To the noble Gentleman, Sir Thomas Kneuet'; and one stanza of 6 'To the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Dyer.' The book's signatures are A 1, 2; B, C, D, in fours, E 1, 2.

Though Powell's notions of girls' education are not ours,

"Instead of songs and musicke, let them learne cookeerie and laundrie : And instead of reading in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand":

yet no doubt Mrs Wm Shakspere shar'd them. Powell was a practical, sharp, business man, with a gift of racy speech. He was evidently a searcher of Records—see his book on them, and his advice to a father, p. 143 below, and specially his proposal to search the Wills Office for grants to charitable uses. I hope his readers will take to him somewhat.

The fourth book of Powell's was a professional one of 78 pages whose title is overleaf :—

DIRECTION FOR SEARCH OF RECORDS

Remaining in the { CHANCERIE,
TOWER,
EXCHEQUER, with the *Limnes*
thereof: *viz.*

| | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| The | { Kings Remembrancer. Lord Treasurers Remembrancer. Clarke of the Extreats. Pipe. Auditors. | The | { First Fruits. Augmentation of the Revenue. Kings Bench. Common Pleas. Records of Courts Christian. |
|-----|---|-----|--|

For the clearing of all such *Titles*, and *Questions*,
as the same may concerne.

With the accustomed Fees of Search: And
diuverse necessarie Observuations.

Cui Author
THOMAS POWELL, *Londino-Cambrenfis.*

— — — *Cum tonat oxyus Ilex*
Sulphure discutitur sacro, quam tuque, domusque.

LONDON,
Printed by B. A. for *Paul Man*, and are to be sold
at his Shop in *Chancerie Lane*, at the Signe of the
Bowle; or in *Distaffe Lane*, at the Signe
of the *Dolphin*. 1622.

Powell's fifth book is a merry one of 34 leaves :

Wheresoever you see mee, / Trust vnto your selfe. / Or, / THE MYSTERIE / OF LENDING / AND / BORROWING. / *Seria Focis*: / Or, / The Tickling Torture. /—*Dum rideo, veh mihi risu.* / By THOMAS POVVEL, / London-Cambrian. / [4 bits of old ornament.] LONDON, / Printed for Benjamin Fisher, and are / to be sold at his shop in Pater-noster-row, / at the signe of the Talbot. / 1623

It is a chaffy rollicking description of the different kinds of Borrowers—Courtier, Inns-of-Court man, Country Gentleman, and Citizen—and Lenders, Debtors' places of refuge, and debtors' shifts to avoid payment. (For the 2nd edition, see below, p. xxvi.)

Here is the beginning of how the Courtier handles the Citizen he wants to borrow money of, p. 3 :—

“The Courtiers method follows.

First he invites his Creditor, to a dish of Court-Ling, with Masculine mustard plenty.

Then shewes him the priuie lodgings and the new banqueting house.

Perhaps the Robes next.

Then the great Magolls tent in the Wardrobe: And so much serues for the first meeting, and to procure an appetite to the second.

To the second Meeting our Creditor is summoned, and brings behinde him his wife, like to a broken wicke glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the Masking roome.

Whereat the Courtiers skill in deliuering of the Maskers names, vnder their seuerall disguises, did purchase an euerlasting and indissoluble citie-consanguinitie with his female charge, ouer whom, the more sleepy hir spouse, the more vigilant was my counsen courtier.

And now he hath made his partie strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take vp of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee deuised for such like vse and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and inlarging of his credit, our Courtier pretends how he has receiued newes that his feign'd kinred is very sicke ; and thereupon a takes occasion (in stead of venison) to send her a bottle of that famous and farre fetcht *frontineack*: He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there in a cursorie way of commanding the art of man, in matter of Manufacture, he falls by chance vpon the remembrance of an extraordinarie stufte, which hee saw a great personage weare lately in Court, not doubting but that his counsens [the Creditor or citizen's] shop did afford the like: His purpose was to haue a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by for him till his moneyes came in: Yet with a very little intreay so cleanly exprompted, he

xxiv Forewords. § 3. Powell's *Attourneys Academy*.

was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish foreman vnawares before his returne.

Giue vs old Ale, and booke it,
O giue vs old Ale, and booke it :
And when you would haue your money for all,
My cousen may chance to looke it."

This larky book of Powell's was followd by his sober sixth :—

The / Attourneys Academy : / or, / The Manner and / forme of proceeding practically, vpon / any Suite, Plaintiff, or Action whatsoeuer, in any / Court of Record whatsoeuer, within / this Kingdome : / especially, / in the Great Courts at / Westminster, to whose motion all other Courts of / Law or Equitie ; as well those of the two Provinciiall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall / London ; as Those of like Cities / and Townes Corporate, And / all other of Record are diu-nally moued : / *With the Moderne and most usuall Fees of the / Officers and Ministers of such Courts.* / Published by his Maiesties speciali priuiledge, / and / Intended for the publique benefit of all / His Subiects. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.* / Tho : Powell / Londino-Cambrensis. / London, / Printed for Benjamin Fisher : and are to be sold at his / Shop in Pater-noster Row, at the signe of the / Talbot : 1623.

This is a regular Attorney's Handbook, dedicated to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England," and with a second dedication which does credit to Powell :—

"To / trve Nobilitie / and tryde Learning, / beholden / To no Mountaine for Eminence / nor Supportment for his Height, / Francis, Lord Verulam, and / Viscount S^t. Albanes.

O Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good Seneca, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I receiued at thy reading :
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe again.

The same
THOMAS POWELL."

There were later editions in 1630, 1647, &c. Then came in 1627, Powell's seventh book, a professional one in 72 leaves :

The / Attornies / Almanacke, / Provided / & / desired / For the generall ease and daily vse of all / such as shall haue occasion to remoue any / Person, Cause or record, from an / inferiour Court to any the / higher Courts at / Westminster. / By THOMAS POWELL. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.*

London. / Printed by B. A. and T. F. for *Ben: Fisher*, and are to / be sold at his Shop at the signe of the *Talbot* without / Aldersgate. 1627.

Next appear'd, in 1631, his eighth book, to which he did not put his name, as not half of it was his own work. The title is given by Mr Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, 1876,¹ as

"The Repertorie of Records: remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt side at Westminster [and] the two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a briefe introductiue Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tower: whereby to give the better Direction to the Records abouesaid. As also a most exact Calendar of all those Records of the Tower: in which are contayned and comprised whatsoeuer may give satisfaction to the Searcher for Tenure or Tyle of any thing. London, Printed by B. Alsop and F. Fawcet for B. Fisher, &c. 1631.

4to, A—Ee in fours, first leaf blank."

"Dedicated in verse 'To the Vnknowne Patron,' which is followed by a leaf with a somewhat enigmatical heading 'To the same Patron the great Master of this Mysterie Our Author payeth this in part of a more Summe due.' There is also a prose address to the Reader, in which Powell gives some account of the circumstances attending the publication."

Powell says he first thought of dedicating his book to Mercurie, who'd inspir'd him to write a bit of verse again, but as he can't find a Patron, he dedicates it to an unknown one, whom Mercury is to find out. The address to the Reader follows:—

To the Reader.

I T may be obiecte unto me, that the collation of these things, is not all made vp and digested into this fabrique of mine owne materials and structure, and I doe ingenuously confesse it: Seeing the Foure Treasuries [p. 17—120] were collected by Mr. Agard, his priuate notes, a man very industrious and painfull in that kind²; and one who had continual recourse vnto the most, & custody of many of the rest of the same: And the latter Callender of the Records of the Tower [? p. 211—217], came to my hands from an Author vnkowne, euen as the Printer was drawing the last sheet of the precedent worke from the Presse. I was content to give it wharfage, and to let it be layd on shore with the rest, but very vnwillingly; because I had no conuenient roome left where to dispose it, without blaming of my Methode, in that it was not layd

¹ Mr Hazlitt also notes that "Verses signed *T. P.* are attached to Ford's *Fames Memoriall*, 1606."

² See his collections in the Public Record Office.—F.

xxvi Forewords. § 3. T. Powell's Sir Ed. Hales.

in his proper place, with the rest, that is, vnder the Title of the Tower, in the first Station : whereof I hope an equall censure, ever resting

Sub rostro Cycaniæ.

The book is a 4to of 217 pages, besides Title and four pages of dedication, and describes where the Records are, what bundles of them, &c. are in the several rooms, and what Countries and places some of them refer to. Here's a short extract :—

"And now to the fourre Treasures.

The first is, the Treasurie of the Court of Receipt. In which are Two of the anciestente Bookes of Records in this Kingdome : made in William the Conquerours time, called *Domes-day*.

The one Booke in Quarto, containing the Description or Surveye of Essex, Norfolke, and Suffolke.

The other in Folio, being the like, for all the Shires in England, from Cornwall, to the Riuer of Tyne.

Here is a Booke called the blacke Booke, made in Henry the seconds time, *De necessarijs Sca[ca]rij observandis* : And in the same, are the Oathes and Admittances of Officers inrolled, and other Notes of some consequence." [and so on].

This was followd by his 9th work, the last I find under his name, his *Tom of all Trades* printed below, p. 137—175. In 1635 came out a second edition of both his *Tom of all Trades* and earlier *Mysteries of Lending and Borrowing*, in one little volume with the following title, no doubt written by himself :—

The Art of Thriving. / Or, / The plaine pathway to / Pre-ferment. / Together with / The Mysterie and Misery / of Lending and Borrowing. Consider it seriously. / Examine it judiciously. / Remember it punctually. / And thrive accordingly. / [by Thos. Powell, Gent. in MS.] Published for the common / good of all sorts &c / London, / Printed by T. H. for Benjamin / Fisher, and are to be sold at his shop / at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-gate street. 1635. [120 pages : at p. 121 a fresh title,]

The / Mistery / and / Misery / of / Lending / and / Borrowing / By / Tho : Powel, Gent. / London : / Printed by Thomas Harper for / Benjamin Fisher, and are to be / sold at his shop in Alders-gate / streete at the signe of the / Talbot. 1636. [p. 121—254.]

Of the Sir Edward Hales whom Powell praises so warmly in his Dedication to his *Tom of all Trades*, the Rev. W. S. Scott Robertson of Sittingbourne sends me the following account :

"Sir Edward Hales was the first of his name at Tunstall.¹ He

¹ "I come now to speak of the Hales, present lords of Tunstall, a family of

was originally of Tenterden, but marrying the Harlackenden heiress, of Woodchurch, he removed to her seat. He was created a baronet in 1611. After the death of his first wife he married the widow (*née* Martha Carew) of Sir James Cromer of Tunstall, and removed thither. Sir James Cromer died in 1613, and left no son. One of his three daughters, Christian, the youngest, who inherited Tunstall, married Sir Edward Hales's eldest son John, and thus the Hales family became fixed at Tunstall. John Hales died in his father's lifetime, but his son Edward,¹ who was born about 1626, ultimately succeeded his grandfather Sir Edward.

"The first baronet, with whom your author Thomas Powell was so pleased, died in 1654, and was buried in Tunstall Church. The present representative of the family is Miss Hales of Hales Place, Canterbury, whose name figured in the statements of the claimant to the Tichborne estates. She has very recently sold her Tunstall property."

great antiquity; but as their interest here is not of so long standing, I shall go no higher than the last century, beginning with

"Sir Edward Hales, Knight, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet 1611; he served in several parliaments, and took part with those that raised the rebellion against king Charles I. He died October 6th, 1634, aged 78.* This is he for whom the noble monument in Tunstall church was erected with his effigies in full proportion cut in marble. His wives were Deborah, da. and heir of Martin Lackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., and Martha the relict of Sir James Cromer.

"John, the eldest son of Sir Edward, by Deborah his first lady, married Christian, the youngest of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Cromer aforesaid; and by this marriage was Tunstall brought into the family of Hales. This John died in the life-time of his father, and left issue Sir Edward Hales, baronet, a zealous royalist, who in his younger years risked his person and fortune in the cause, insomuch that he was forced to abscond and live beyond the seas on account of the great debts he had contracted for the king's service. He died in France some years after the Restoration." From the 'History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent.' By Ed. Rowe Mores, printed in Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34. (Mores died in 1778, this History was publisht in 1780.)

"This Sir Edward Hales was a commissioner for the survey of Aldington in 1608, Sheriff of Kent in a year between 1611 and 1620, and M.P. for Kent in a Parliament preceding the Long Parliament."—Furley's *History of the Weald of Kent*, Ashford, 1874, vol. ii. Pt. II. pp. 522, 602.

¹ Sir Edward Hales, the third of that name, but the first baronet, of Tenterden, Kent, was knighted, and on June 29, 1611, was created a Baronet. He was twice married, first to Deborah, only daughter and heir of Martin Herlackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons, viz. John his eldest son,

* See the cp. ded. to Powell's *Tom of all Trades*. Lond. 1631, 4to.

§ 4. The last piece in the present volume, “*The Glasse of Godly Loue*, Wherein all married couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures,”—I was tempted to add because it made a kind of Appendix to the *Tell-troth* tract of 1593, and because it was part of a thin treatise belonging to me, that Mr Hazlitt believes to be unique, but which is unluckily imperfect. It is undated, but is printed by Richard Jones, who took up his freedom of the Stationers’ Company on the 7th of August 1564 (Arber’s *Transcript*, I. 278), had one press in May 1583 (ib. 248), and printed till 1600. Whether the *Glasse* is by Thomas Pritchard,¹ the writer of the first part of the volume, or I[ohn] R[ogers] who seems to have written the second part, I cannot tell. It follows the I. R. Discourse. The title-page of Pritchard’s tract is on p. xxix, opposite.

§ 5. I have now but to thank the Librarian of Peterborough Cathedral for trusting his unique 1593 *Tell-troth* to me; Mr Henry Huth for his loan of Powell’s *Welch Bayte*; Mr W. G. Stone of Walditch for so kindly making the Contents, Notes, and Index to this volume; Miss E. Phipson for paying for *Tom of all Trades*, and our friend who hides his name, for his gift of the first *Tell-troth* reprint.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3, St. George’s Square, London, N.W.
July 11, 1876.

who married Christian one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Jas. Cromer, knt., and in her right became possessed of the manor of Tunstall and other large estates, and died in his [father’s] life-time; his other children were Edward, Samuel, Thomas, and a da. Christian. His second wife was Martha, da. of Sir Mathew Carew, and relict of Sir Jas. Cromer. He died Oct. 6, 1654, in his 78th year, is buried in Tunstall Church. His grandson Edward (son of his eldest son John) succeeded him; this Edward was about 13 years of age at his father’s death in 1639. “He succeeded his grandfather in title and estate in 1654; but being most zealously attached to the royal cause, he risqued his fortune as well as his person, in the support of it; by which means he ruined the former, and was obliged on that account to abandon his native country, to which he never afterwards returned, but died in France soon after the restoration of K. Charles II.” He was one of the three who escaped with James II. in 1688. Abstract taken from Hasted’s History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 576.

¹ On ‘1628, July 9, Thom. Pritchard of Jesus College,’ Oxford, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wood’s *Fasti Oxon.*, pt. i (*Athenæ*, vol. ii.), col. 443, ed. Bliss. But I do not suppose that this is our T. Pritchard.

THE SCHOOLE

of honest and vertuous lyfe:

Profitable and necessary for
all estates and degrees, to be trayned in :
but (cheesely) for the pettie Schollers, the
yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or
Women. by T. P.

*Also, a laudable and learned
Discourse, of the worthynesse of hono-
rable Wedlocke, written in the be-
halfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes,
(generally) for their singuler instructi-
on, to choose them vertuous and honest*

Husbandes :

But (most specially) sent writte as a Iewell
vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the
time of her widowhood, to direct & guide
her in the new election of her seconde
*Husband. By her approuued freend and
kinsmen. I. R.*

Imprinted at London by

*Richard Johnes, and are to
be folde at his shop ouer against S. Sepul-
chers Church without Newgate.*



Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift

Beeing

Robin Good-fellowes newes out of thos Countries, where inhabites neither Charity nor honesty.

With his owne Inuectiue against Ielofy.



L O N D O N

Imprinted by Robert Bourne.

1593.





Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift.

[sig. A 2]



Marry, sir, now you looke as if you expected newes: me thinks I see your eares open to heare what Robin good fellow will tel you; & because your desire shal not be altogether frustrate, you shal, if you will, be somewhat the wiser before you goe. I am assured it is not stale; and were you as long in reading of it, as the Senators haue bene in agreeing vpon it, I know you would craue many baetes before you had passed the mainger. But behold, they had the paine, and you may haue the pleasure; and I am glad that it was my fortune to meete with it; and doubtlesse it was a great haffard, that a worser carrier had not hapned on it. For thus it fel out: walking towards Islington in a frosty morning, I by chaunce lighted into the company of a boone companion, that seemed no lesse pleasing in shew, then he prooued in substaunce. A merry mate hee was, and matched with one of his owne minde, a simple fellow, that marchinge vnder the habbite of true meaninge, tels all that he fees, and euery thing he thinkes to be true: *Tell-troth* is my name, and you may trust me if you will, for I assure you, that he that crediteth me most, shall not speede worst. We two matches mated by good fortune, *Robin good-fellow* the one, who neuer did worse harme then correct manners, and made diligent maides: and I, *Tell troth*, the other, who euer haue beene a sworne enemy to lafyre lurdens, and a professed foe to *Jack No-body*: no sooner settinge our eyes, the one on the other, but knew each others conditions, falling forthwith into familiarity. And it being my hap to enquire first from whence hee came, hee made it not scrupulous to certifie his comming from hell, a place (sayde hee) that is odious, and yet to none but to them that feare it: Mary (qd. hee) *Robin good-fellow*, that could go inuisible from ¹his infancy, had it by nature giuen

[t sig. A 2,
back]

him, that he shold bee subiect to no inferiour power whatsoeuer, either ruling or inhabiting vnder the higheste elemente, with a generall priuiledge to search euery corner, and enter any castell to a good purpose. By libertye of which pattente, I croffed the riuer *Stix* in *Carons* boat without his leaue, giuinge him a patt on his drowsie pate for my passage. And from him vnknowne, I came to *Cerberus* (that Lubberly Porter), who was makinge faste of the brand gates, which were faine to bee opened, that the greate *Magog* with his compayne that were summoned to the Parliamente, might enter without interruption. He heard my trampling, and therefore asked who was there? but when I would not aunswere, he thought it was *Lelaps* his curre, bidding him to lie downe, and so likewise I easely entred the dungion. To tell what I there saw, were no newes: because it hath beene tolde by so many, wherof foome of them haue not reported amisse. But going on to the mercilesse pallace, the gates stooode wide open, so that any might enter ther without controlement. With in the great Hall whereof, were assembled the whole society of bad company, a generall conuocation beeing called about the deciding of many matters which were not altogether perfected. There was a greate thronge, and no little sturre, the feuerall billes of complainte which were there exhibited of many matters, beeing so many, as they would require an age to rehearse them, especially seeing this one matter wheroft my newes confisteth, was a hearing and deciding seauen yeares.

But to come to the matter, all the worst diuels being placed in their orders according to their custome (which is needless to set downe, for that I hope there is none heere that euer meane to be partakers of any of their Offices) the Speaker vttered an Oration that would haue made a mastie to haue broke his collor with girning thereat, declaringe what a continuall profite Ielosie, aboue all other vices, brought to that place, praiisnge so highly the commodity thereof as, in his diuelish iudgement, hell would be passinge beggerly without that helpe. Manifestinge how easely mens and womens mindes were [x sig. A 3] drawn to all corlruption thereby, with such a dilatinge narration as neuer an Orator in hell could haue spoken more. After the finishinge of whose fustie framed speech, there was a quest of enquiry called, whose forman deliuered a whole bundell of scroles and papers,

wherein were sett downe the causes that helped Ielosie, with the meanes that hindered the same, as also the kindes thereof, with feuerall complaints made both by men and women that were vexed with the like. The which I will, quoth Robin, deliuere vnto thee if thou so wilst: whereof, I beeing wonderfull desirous, for *Mens hominis nouitatis auida*, hee went on with it as followeth.

The first cause (quoth he) is a constrained loue, when as parentes do by compulsion couple two bodies, neither respectinge the ioyning of their hertes, nor hauinge any care of the continuaunce of their welfare, but more regardinge the linkinge of wealth and money together, then of loue with honesty: will force affection without liking, and cause loue with Ielosie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or else matche them with inequallity, ioyning burning sommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder, to rich cormorants of threescore or vpwards. Wherby, either the dislike that likely growes with yeares of discretion engendereth disloyalty in the one, or the knowledge of the others disability leades him to Ielosie.

What is the cause of so many houshalde breaches, deuorcements, and continuall discontentmentes, but vnnaturall disagreementes by vnmutuall contractes? Will the Turtel change while her mate is true, or the Swanne be cruell as long as his female is loyall? If there be disloyalty betweene mates linked by their owne election (as doubtlesse there is), how can vncertainty be condemned in those that neuer had that liberty? were the hart as subiect to the law as the body is, I would thinke such marriages lawfull, but since the one hath liberty, when the other is in captiuitie, I know, *Tell troth*, (quoth Robin) it will not cease to seeke reuenge for his bodies flauery, vnlesse grace correcteth, by shewinge what the law of God forbiddeth. Pretious jewelz are chosen, and deere thinges loued; but at what price are those rated at which are easely obtained? Doubtlesse at so low a reckoninge as pippel stones are, in comparison of pearles; the one had without cost or trauell, and the other not to be obtained without both. A lesson learned with stroakes, staies with the scholler, when a sentence read without regarde, is not so soone in at one eare, as out at the other: And loue gained with sighes &

Parents
forced loue
a cause of
Ielosy.

Rob. Goo[d-]
fellowes
digests.
The
nat[ur]e of
the Sw[anne]
If is, that at
such time [as]
he sees an
vncertain[t]
trick to b[e]
perfourme[d]
by his
fem[ale,]
he never

[1 sig. A 3,
back]
s the
Swan
commit
the fault
her vn-
e hath
d he bee-
laine, he
es the
with
his own
e.

slightes encreaseth, when obtained otherwife, it soone decayeth.
Durum pati meminisse dulce, & an ounce of pleasure stolne with feare
 of a pound of vnrest, makes vs still to thinke on the sweetenesse of
 loue, and all wayes to be striaing to continue it, when the contrary
 will procure lighte regarde thereof. How farre more delightsome is
 stolne venison to him that hath inough, then his owne? And how
 pleafant is that meat in taste which is dainty? Thinges farre fetchte
 and deere boughte, are good for Ladies: and trifles will often better
 content then treasure. The Diuels crye for mislike, but who beares
 the brunt of it? The feete that flie from it, not the head that bredd
 the baite; the man can prouide for himselfe, when the poore woman
 is voide of all succour, and he will haue a cloake to hide his misery
 when she shall want a cap to couer her.¹ extremitye. She must beare
 the lumpes and lowres; if happily she escapes the blowes, the biting²
 woordes, if not worse, euen cruell hart-breakinges and back-beatinges.
 Thus shall the Fathers couetuousnes be cause of the childes vndoing,
 and his harts-ease beginning of her woe, and ende of her happinesse:
 his likinge meeting with her loathing, which shall vndoe her by
 Ielowfy. Hath God by an instinct of nature ingrafted loue so farre
 forth in vnreasonable creatures, as they doo not onelye choose their
 mates (as all creatures doe), but liue faithfullye to them, and con-
 stantly with them, so longe as life endureth; and shall that priuiledge
 be taken from man-kinde, whome onely he hath endowed with
 reason and discretion? The birdes bringe vpp the yong, vntill they
 can shift for themselues, and then giues them leaue to vfe their

^[3 leaf A 4] liberty: the beastes of the fielde haue the selfe³ same freedome, and

Men [make] themsel[ves] vnnatur[al] to their[chil-]
 dren by t[heir] matches
 the fishes in the Sea, no other restrainte; onely man is iniurious vnto
 himselfe, by vnnaturall vsage of his deerest bloud. They care for
 their children vntill they be past care: and euen then themselues
 freed from that charge, they bring their young ones to a greater
 crosse: geuing them sorrow for their pleasure, and vnrest in steede of
 hartes ease. They doe not matche them with the mates their
 childrens eies haue chosen, but with the men their owne greedy desire
 haue found out: little fore-thinking of their childrens after-greeuinge,
 and their owne repenting. They regard not now a dayes the old
 sayinge of the wise man, *I had rather haue a man then mony*, but
 testify by their doinges that they esteeme more of wealth then of

humanity. They forget what themselues haue beene, and will not remember what themselues haue done. Their coueteousnesse choaketh their charity, and their worldly care keepeth em¹ for knowinge [¹ orig. keepe them. for = from.] diinity. They abhorre and grow mad to heare their children entreat for the maides that please them, or for the men their soules loue, but tirant like they say, *sic volo sic iubeo, sicut pro ratione voluntas*: I like him, and thou shalt haue him; loue this man or I will loath thee. This effecte hath coueteousnesse in the father; and beholde what discontentmente it worketh in the childe.

He or shee by duety is bound to their Parentes commaundement, and for feare of their displeasure are linked to continuall misery. What saith the husband to the wife, but, this was thy fathers worke, to winne me by his mony; and since hee hath his will with the want of my weale, I wil not liue alone in sorrow, but² will make thee taste [² orig. bnt] of the same sauce. Thy Father hath his, and why should I not haue mine? So saith he, and so fareth shee: hee inuentes meanes to make her mourne, and leaues no practise vntryed, which is like to procure her misery. They liue in one house, as two ennemis lie in the field: their habitation being feuered, like twoo campes that bee ready for battell. Hauocke is made lauishly, of that their fathers gathered corruptly, that either being spente lasciuiously in the company of stran³gers, or licentiously in controuersies at law. So great [³ an- orig. au-] mischiefe ariseth of coueteousnesse in matches of matrimonye. [⁴ leaf A 4, back] Touching the faluing of which sore, it is most requisite that the children should haue their free liberty in likinge, as the fathers haue had theirs in choosing. For as those matches are best, wher there is a mutuall agreement betweene parentes and their children, so do those for the most part loue best, that haue the priuiledge of choosinge for themselues. My cheefest reason may bee drawne from contentment in loue, which is satisfied with any thinge, according to the saying, *Loue hath no lacke*; and my old lesson, *Selfe do, selfe haue*, makes the patient often not to complaine of a great sore, when an other will cry out for no harme. Experience hath best displayed it to some: and common reason cannot but make it knowne to all. For who that hath done him selfe an iniury will complaine thereof, for feare of beeing ⁵accompted a foole? Or what woman that hath [⁵ acc- orig. arc-] burnte her finger will blame others for the deede done by her selfe?

You might haue tooke better heede, and It was your owne fault, are two shrode plasters for a greene wound: and the minds of men are best pleased with their owne thoughts, & women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes. When a woman distrustes of any helpe to come from any part-taker, shee will bee glad to please hir husband, & they two falling foorth, she (hauing none to maine-taine her in her pride) will bee contented to reconcile her selfe vnto him by kinde submission. And where a louing kisse will saue a great deale of cost, if there it bee not vsed, mony cannot be better bestowed then in buying wit to saue the next charges. But how now, *Robin!* thou haft beene ouer longe in thy digression. I haue indeede, and therfore, frend *Tell-troth*, I returne to my matter.

Indiscreete
gouvernement
the second
cause of
Ielosy.

[^x sig. B]

A second cause of Ielosy springeth from indiscretion in gouernment, which is either in one or both of them *that* are linked together in mariage, neither of them hauing reason to knowe what belongs to either, or neither of them discretion rightly to correct what is amissle in either. Loue will bee too wanton vnlesse he be whipped with rushes, and ouer dull if his winges be clipped; giue him his liberty, and he will runne at randum; ¹ shut him vp in prison, and he will be starke mad; so that gentle correction must barre his liberty, and mild chafticement preuent his madnesse; a wanton young bewraies a lasciuious hart, and by the vttraunce of the young, wicked thoughts are manyfested; therfore, either to gaze lasciuiofly, or to speake wantonly, may moue Ielosy. Modesty in a young woman is as a garland of wheat in a ioyfull haruest; and discretion in a man like an oliue braunch after long discention: she honoureth her husband with a signe of happinesse, and he contentes his wife with a pledge of loue; by his wisdome hee teacheth her knowledge, and by her obedience she makes him glad; his correction is as a warme cup of drinke to a cold stomake, and her reformation as a sonne-shine daye after much raine. Peace flourisheth where wisdome ruleth, and ioy raigneth where modesty directeth. To please the harte of a husbande, is to ioyne vnyt with the whole world; and to be in the loue and fauour of a wife is a freedome from much care; wisdome therefore in men to gouerne their common wealths, and modestie in women, are of no small meanes to continue vnyt, and destroy Ielosy.

Another cause is causelesse discontentment, when the man will lowre without occasion, and the woman fret, not knowing any reason, and especially when either of them wil oppose them selues against other, and both of them maintaine their hertes pride: when a man will finde fault without cause, or a woman complaine of two much ease, it shewes a troubled minde and breeds suspect. He that cannot be merry at home, goes about to perswade hee will be mad abroad; and shee that lowers on her husband when he comes home, shewes she had as liue haue his roome as his company: where loue is, there is no thought of battell; and there, what absence hath hurt, presence will heale. A kind and louing wife forgetteth all vnkindnesse by the sight of her best beloued, as a child doth the correction of his mother by the receipt of an apple from her; and a discreete husband is no longer displeased then a fault is a doing. Contentment is an excellent sauce to eury dish, and pleasantnesse a singuler portion to preuent mischiefe: the head is neuer¹ euill; but either it is² pleasantly disposed [orig. nener] or knauishly occupied. A merry countenance is a signe of content- [2 sig. B, back]

ment, but froward wordes are messenger of melancholly. In what the hart delighteth, with that it is best pleased; and harde it is to hault before a creppell. A frowne lodeth, and a smile lightneth; to frowne therefore kindly, is a barre to Iellocy: but loading crabbedly, men vndoe themselues speedily. Many men delighting in much company, cannot be contented to [M]ens follye [the] fourth. follow their desire abroad by vsing new familiarity, but wil bring daily grief vnto their houses, as little regarding their dispositions with whome they ioyne frendship, as the occasions that may be offered of dislike by after repentings; so that following their pleasure in satisfieng that humor, they fall afterwards into a worse vaine, being suspitious of ouer much familiarity to haue crept with their acquaintance, and doubtful least their copefmates are matched with them in their darlinges bosomes. When they will begin so to watch their wiues eies, and dogge their frendes looks, as the mise shall not pepe without daunger of the cats, nor the silly women speake without suspicion of falsehood, Others will bring strang women vnto their wiues to welcome: speaking lauishly of their beauties, and vndecently in their praises, they will make comparison without discretion, and giue judgement without widsome. They regard present pleaf-

[¶ sig. B 2]

ure, but care not for future profit, not so much as thinking on the chilling winter in the heate of summer, nor of warre in time of peace. They consider not how loue wil brooke no equalitie, nor marriage allowe of the least vnconstancy; and both these, though themselues haue beene the procurers of their own discontentment, yet will they lay all the burthen on their wiues backes, either plaging them in béeing suspitious, or punishing them by making them ielious. The old sayng is, that he which will no pennance doe, must shonne the cause that belongs thereto: had I wist, is a slender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifest badge of folly, especially when a man will leauie the bridg, to trie to leap ouer the ditch and fall into it. Thought is free; but when the young blabs, it is signe the hart ¹ aboundes. What an euident token of folish blidnesse is it, for a man to seeke many daies to please his mind, when afterwards, hauing found and inioyng it, he will mislike thereof in a moment, by sight of a new obiecte? O! that is a weake harte that hath such a wandring eie! and hee is no small foole that so little esteemes of experience, as hee delighteth in the practise of vnknowne conclusions. Might it please them to vse lesse wordes and more wit, fewer companions or kinder familiarity, they should not so lightly enter the hazard of Iellofy.

The ill
co[u]ncell
of the
wicked th[e]
fift cause [of]
Ielosy.

Ill counsell is the next cause of Ielosy; wher by the wicked (whose immaginations are only to doe discentions by bruting euil supposes, bred of a suspitious braine, & vttered with colored hipocrisie) labour to sette debate betweene true hertes, and to shufflie in suspition amongst those that are free from thought thereof. They will striue to perswade by liklyhoods, & confirme ascertions with false oathes. They will place betweene man and wife a tree of discorde, and plant in peacable houses, rootes of variance; their toungs shall be wagging to wish them to tast of the fruit thereof, their heads studying how to bring them to like of the practise of their premeditated mischiefe. They will alleadg, lo thus it hath proued by others, and so hath it fell out vnto them for want of suspition. Think on the worst (say they) for the best is not hurtfull; but thinke of them as of the worst, say I, for they are most hurtfull.

Credite
gl[i]auen to
false
reportes
t[he] sixt.

And these make-bates will not let to brute reportes, though merely false, to confirme their sayings, cloking their mischiefe with

the habit of good meaning, and hiding their knauery with a shew of puritie. They will tattle tales as if fraught with truth: and vtter flanders, with protestations. They will invent to perswade, and sweare to confirme: sticking burres on their backes, that were free from motes; and filling their heads with wonders, that before were in quiet. They ioy to set discention in a louing plat, and reioyce to see debate betweene faithfull frendes; they hunt after controuersie, and honour Iellosy. And because themselues are old, they will hate all that are younger then themselues, and suspect all, for that themselues haue loued ¹the game: experience of knauery is a pestilent helpe to ^[1 sig. B 2, back] Iellosy; and if the mother hath loued to playe false, shee will bee sure to mistrust the daughter. Beware, for I haue tried: tis a vile whip to scourge a fearefull hart with; and persuasions from a dissembling hart are wondrous hurtfull to an vnconstant louer. It is a small bit that will not make a hungry dogge gape; and an vnsauery morsell that will not content a longing appetite. A will, with a diuelish wit, will practise any thing; and what is it that they cannot effecte? Marry, the best helpe to preuent their mischefe, is misbelieve; and the readiest mean to trie truth, is, to search into their own liues. And for that you shall, Tell-Troth, quoth hee, the better vnderstand the diuelishnesse of such creatures as are these makebates, I will tell thee a merry tale, I haue hard there tould, of one who was croft in her wicked suspition.

There was an olde trott, that in her youth hauing beene a true <sup>[A merr
tale [of a]
make [bate.]</sup> traueller, and now through her loose life was worne to the bones and past all goodnesse, dwelled neere vnto a proper young woman matched with a very honest man. This olde beldame, being good for nothing but to keepe the cat out of the ashes, and to prattell ouer a pot of nut-browne ale, would sped the rest of her time which was not imployed ouer the fagget, in sitting at the dore to watch what company resorted to the young mans house afore said. Whether, for that he was of a trade, did come diuers, some to bargaine, other about other businesse, and amongst the rest, this man had a frend, being a young man, which did often repaire thether. The olde cat hauing seene him there twise or thrise, beeing at a certaine time amongst many of her other goffopes, (like vnto her selfe in condition and of her own stampe by antiquity,) called this honest mans wiues name into question,

so setting her worne chappes a wagging, as she burthened her conscience with the confirmation of her mistrustfullnesse concerning her liuing. The resorte thereth was her reason, and the sight of the former younge man her conclusion for the truth thereof. Some of her companions (somewhat better disposed then her selfe) gaue their judgement with some tolleration concerning the suspected dishonesty, of which she misliking, reproud their light of beliefe with a shamelesse interrogation, howe shée could bee honest, seeing such a one doth resorte daily vnto her, who is like to bee a wild youth, and therefore cunning, and she a young woman soone to be inticed: we know (said shē) by experience the dealings of such mates, hauing our selues beene fully tried by their flightes: verily they cannot be well thought on; nor may shē be liked, nor her husband praised, for giuing such entertainment. Vpon which report, her withered gossipes gaue vppe their verdict, that then indeede shē could not be honest; and so for that time the court broke vppe. They gon, this wether-beaten fieres-bird could not be satisfied with thus much, but the chuffe her husband comming in, shē could not chuse but tell him of the company that had beene with her, and of the talke that had passed betweene them, with a recitall of her newly broched mischiefe, affirming it was great pittie, seeing shē was a very proper young woman, and hee an honest man, a young beginner that was like to doe well, were he not ouer-reached by such companions. Doubtlesse (quoth shē) it were good, and a thing well pleasing vnto god to impart thus much vnto her husband, peraducentre he, filly man, mistrust no such matter, or is loth to offend his wife by telling her of it; but if hee seekes not present remedy, howe is it possible hee shoud escape vndoing? To which supposed impossibility hee agreed; I thinke, lead thereunto rather for feare then otherwise, as you shall hereafter gather. Well, shortly they agreed to send for the yong man, and at his comming sent for a pinte of wine, giuing him therewith to gnaw, such crustes of small comfort, as tended both to his owne discredite & his wines dishonesty: both their opinions concerning such men which resort to his house, as they feared, rather to her then to him: as also the reportes of other their neighbours that greatly pittied them, mistrusting no lesse then they had faide, confirmed their flounders, endinge their tittell tattell with perswafions to forewarne their wiues of such

A fires-bird,
for that she
sat continu-
ally by the
fire side.

company. With which vnlooked-for banquet, the younge man, being stroken amased (and maruell not, since it was meat ¹ of so hard a dis-
gesture), stoode still for a season; but after callinge his wittes together
(of which he had no small neede being mated with two such rookes) They are
assured them of his wiues constancye toward him, that loued him most [^ sig. B 3,
back]
intierly, and obeyed him most duetyfully. And touching the resorte,
his trade required customers, and not of the worst sort (for he was a
shoomaker); and so lightly thanking them for their protested good
will (giuing as small credit to their prittell prattell as he had stomacke
to their cheere) he departed home, nothing leſſe louing, or thinking
worse of his wife then hee did before. But they, seeing their purpose The nature
ooke so little effeſte, grewe mad, especially the ſhe beetell, that in a
great rage ſhe poſted to the tauerne, where ſhe found ſome of the
queſt of inquiry aforeſaid, to whom she blaſed the rancour of her
hart, ſhowing them howe shamefullly their young neighbour was
wronged, and diſhonestly abuſed, through his kind ſimplicity. Where-
vpon this honest man was dubbed amongſt them a wittall; but while
mother trot and her fellowes were defcanting on others honeſty, there
came in a new goſſip, and not without newes, affuring this breede-bate
that her husband (the olde fornicator that had beene with his wife a
bate-maker) was at the flower de luce, a house of as good reſort of
honeſt women as any be in brid-well, and had ſent for thether wine
and other good cheere; which brought ſo bad cheere to her hart, as in
all hafe ſhee did runne thether: where not finding him, but vnder-
ſtanding, I know not by what meanes, that hee was newe gon, ſhee
fals ſo hot to ſcoulding with the whipperginne her ofſice, as from
wordes they fell to blowes, ſo as in the ende our good neighbour
came home to her husband with a painted face, as if ſhee had beene
at her nuntions with cats. Well, beeing come, Ioane Stoomp-foot
and Tom Totty, fell to 'thou knaue' and 'thou queane,' with other ſuch
ſhameleſſe tearmes, as her husband, not able to ouermaifter her that
way, began to beelabour her faire and handſomely with a faggotſtick,
a preſent remedy to charme ſuch diueliſh tounges. With which Which was
noife (for doubtleſſe it was great, especially the longe toungd beare the ſhee
getting the worfe), the neighbours beeing troubled, were ²forced of [^ leaf B 4]
pitty to come in, who, ſeeing the fray bloody, ſeuered the knaue and
the queane, and ſo parted the combate. But the ſcoulding champion

(hauing good occasion to set her chappes a-wagging, that were faine to flaunder before, for want of other matter) cursed the time that euer shee met with such a whore master knaue, telling the whole circumstaunces of the matter, with tearmes fit for women of her owne stampe. And her husband, on the contrary part, forced to heare her tale, requites it with a iadish tricke, that she was taken with before time by him in his celler with a collier vpon two sackes of coales. And thus both of them that accused others so lately of dishonesty, were now by all condemned for a Ielious knaue and a mistrustfull baude, worthy titles for such makebates.

I therefore warne (quoth Robin) both all such Ielious goffipes as loue to haue owers in euery mans bote, and could wish that all mens daggars belonged to their sheathes, and also those driggell draggells (whose wicked and lafciuious liues haue wasted their bodies to the bones, and yet not worne the tippes of their tounges) to leaue to be so rash in their iudgementes, or to let their shamelesse instrumentes to blabb such vnconscionable vntrothes to so abhominable an ende. And I also councell both men and women, lightly to regard their backebittings and flaunders, that by vncharitable intermeddling with their doings, seeke to moue strife and procure dislike, betweene those that loue faithfully and liue quietly together, neuer giuing occasion of suspition the one to the other, feeing that flaunders are onely likely hoodes, and no likelyhood certaine.

The hard
vsage either
of a man to-
wardes his
wife, or of
[a] woman
towards her
husband,
i[s] the
seauen[t]h
cause of
Ielosy.

[1 leaf B 4,
back]

A seauenth cause proceedeth of hard vsage, when as a man will brutifly vse his wife by strokes, and currifly barre her of matrimoniall kindnesse. The man that will lifte vp his hand against his wife, is like the horse that doth fling out his heeles to strike his keeper; the one hauing a knauishe, and the other a iadish tricke. Will a man of loue launce his owne fleshe, though he some of deuotion scourge their owne backes? Doth not the dog feare the staffe that hath stroken him? and can a woman like of the hand that hath hurt her? He that calleth his brother foole in ¹anger, is in daunger of hell fire: and thinkes the other man that hatefully beates his wife, or the woman that reuiles her husband, which are neerer the one to the other, to escape that furnace? It is an easie matter to find a staffe to beate a dogge, but vnpossible to meete with a dogge that will loue to be beaten with a staffe, and as hard to finde a kinde husband that

will hold vppe his hand in anger against his wife, which is as his owne hart unto him ; but it is very easie, for that they are ouer-com mon, to light vpon breakers of wedlocke, that will hold vp their armes, bend their fists, and beat their silly wiues, at their comming home from bad women, loathinge those that loue them, and louing those that lothes them but for aduaantage. There was also information made of many, that hausing vsed their wiues wondrous ill all their life time, dealing with them as rigorously as many iades do with the Ostlers knauishly, that notwithstanding their cruelty hath beene manifest to the whole world : yet lying vpon their deathes bed, as late as possible they could, and yet better late then neuer, haue, stroken with penitencie, confessed their faultes with sorrow, and affirmed with protestations that they know there were, nor euer haue beene, more faithfull, carefull, obedient, nor louinge wiues then theirs : I pray you what would such haue prooued, if they had beene matched with like kind-harted men. Well, I leaue that to your iudgement, and will come to the last cause of Ielosy.

Which being not the least, is a leaud behauour in company, when by loose trickes it may bee adiudged that nothing but oportunity is wantinge to their inciuillity. But where shame tames not, there blame maines not. A fested sore must haue a searching salue ; and a shamelesse smile an open frowne. They that carelesly offende the law of modestye, must not taste of the sweete of courtesye ; and they which respect not humanity, shalbe troubled with Ielosy. Blame not the childe that feares the rod, hauing felt the smart therof, nor mislike those that shonne soure thinges, hauing tasted of suger. A hound that knowes the game, delightes in hunting ; and gene the keeper leaue to bestirre him¹selfe when a curre chaseth his deare. Hee [r. sig. C] that steales by night, escapes often when the day-theeues is apprehended ; but an impudent and desperate robber must haue a short dome, for that a plaine matter needs a small triall. He that feares not the halter will hardly become true ; and they that care not for suspect, are seldome honest. A still dogge bites sore, but the barking cur feares more. The hart is the director of the other partes. I pray you then what thinkes he that shames not who see ? Fy of hipocricie, but the diuell take impudencie.

These causes thus set downe were reduced into these eight kindes.

Knauish and foolish doters and fornicators, backebiters and liers, Bankrotes and hipocrites: the two first kindes haue effectes from the third, fourth, and eight causes, the two seconde from the first and fift; the six and feauen kindes, of the fourth and fift causes; and the two last proceede, of the second, third, and seauenth causes, of euery one of which there was a feuerall bil of complaint deliuered, which for that they were very tedious, I haue but onely brought awaye the endorsements of them.

The first was, that whereas Iasper Impudencie lately entertained into the familiarity of one Ioone, good wench, that had vsed him very kindly in secrete, had to her great discredite, for that shee barred him of that Priuiledge in an open assembly, called her name and fame in question, by accusing her of plaing fast and loose (about a kind glaunce that shee had geuen vnto an other, that had better deserued her fauour), in consideration of whose foolish knauery and knauish folly, shee desired redresse against him.

The seconde was, against the folly of a yong nouice, that was so passionate for the loue of a maide, that he could not see any to speake vnto her, but straighte would fall into a sounde through Ielosy. An other complained of an old dotor of fourscore yeares of age, that had gotten, through the compulsion of her parentes, her selfe in marriage, being but two and twenty. Who through his watching, and the dodging of an old beldam his sister, being in house with him, was so tormented, that if shee were never so little out of both their fightes: he presently thought his head be^gan to bud, though it were in the deade of winter, and woulde most shamefully raile vpon her. And shee, hauing learned some subteltie by the old foxes craft, on a time stole foorth to her fathers to supper, not making any priuy to her parting, and there stayed vntill nine of the clock. When comming home, shee found her husband a bed, that had almost fretted his hart out for his wiues long tarrying: who no sooner saw her, but fell a threatning of her, and stricktly examining her where shee had beeene: But shee, beeing well acquainted with that custome, fained, that by chaunce, comming from her fathers, shee met with a younge gentleman, an old frend of hers, that would not be said nay, but shee must of force go sup with him. And affirming that to be true, shee fell

[^x sig. C,
back]

downe vpon her knees and craued his pardon. At the hearing of which, yea, and before shee had quite done (now thinking that to be certeine, which before he onely mistrusted, being verily persuaded that the destinies hadd crowned him with a paire of hornes for his New-yeares gift), he spitted at her, laying Bridewell in her dish, and the cart for her trencher: not only refusing her company for his bedfellow, but driuing her out of his chamber with a bedstaffe. Neither contented with this, but in all hast in the morning hee trotted vnto her fathers: infourming him of many false tales, and amongst the rest, her last nights tricke was brought in for a confirmation of his hard fortune in beeinge matched with suche a one. But her father, knowing that to be false, and the other as likely, persuaded him from his Ielosy, which would not be, notwithstanding.

The fourth kind desired iudgement against their husbands, that, hauing beene married to them the space of threescore yeers, and growing wery of them, brought home to their houses yoong men, vnder the titles of their kinsmen, to haunt their companies, with commandment that they should vse them as well as them selues. Who (through their ciuill behauior deseruing no lesse) being on a certaine time in their chamber with them, were taken by their husbands with other of their coopefmates, that through bribes proued false wittnesses, by which the old fornicators procured deuorcementes, and married younge wenches.

¹ As for make-bates, there was framed against them a bill, to the [¹ sig. C 2] effecte of the tale aforetould of them. And touching their commrades the liers, they were complained of, for that in open assemblies they would speake against Ielosy, cursing him and his followers. But beeinge matched accordinge to their hartes desire, with women that are most faithfull and honest, enjoying through them the happinesse of a blessed estate, they, ouercloyed with the sweete it yeeldeth, and wearied with the gainefull fruite which ariseth therof, will (for that ther are no occasions of Ielosy offered) themselues nourish causers by most vnciuill companions. Talke of Ielosy in their company, they wil vtterly condempne such fickell headed Buffardes, that vpon euery light occasion are mistrustful of their wiues, swearing and protesting that they are not, nor would bee of such a suspitious society for the

world: when their priuy checkes for their wiues modest familiarity shall be so openly executed, as their actions shew their tonges haue lyed.

But these of the sixt kinde are knaues in graine, that hauing lauisht their stockes leaudly by badd meanes, and seeing their estates to grow weake, will seeke out wiues, not of the common forte for propernesse, but suche matchleffe paragons as are for neatnesse not to be mated in a countrey. These must bee sett in their shoppes to tolle in customers; vnto whome, if they shew not themselues good-fellowes by gentle speeches, their houses will proue to hoot for them. They must not sticke to promise fairely and to kisse, so they do it closely; onely this prouiso must be had, that they keepe them out of their mony boxes and closecubberds. Which practise prouininge profitable, and thereby their estates being amended, straight false measure is suspected, and therupon, this their owne inuention misliked off. Then they will say that they do more then their commission alloweth, though lesse a great deale then in the beginning was commaunded. Yea, thence after they must sit no more in the shoppes for feare of thunderclappes; and if perchaunce once in a moneth they are there, in which time it may happen some of their olde customers to come to renue their acquaintance, priuy frownes shalbe geuen them ¹of the wittals their husbandes, their chapmen beeing in company; and in their absence, bitter woordes, if not bitinge blowes. Then shall they not bee suffered to looke on a man without controlement, nor dare to speake to any for feare of buffets. If any aske for them, buying there, presently they are thoughte to be their wiues customers, and therefore shall haue bad entertainement, and be serued with the woorst stuppe, if any be worse then other.

[¹ sig. C 2,
back. Catch
word by]

The last were cried out vpon, for that, whereas they are married with honest mens children, beeing beloued of them far better then they deserue, they will shewe them so much kindnesse in their wooing time, and on their marriage day, as they leauue neuer a whit for the time following. For, hauing reaped the first dayes rost, and beeing enriched with the profit thereof, they grove carelesse of that which might infue, thinking there is no heauen but the time present, nor any commodity like to arise of the remnant. Before company, their kindnesse shall bee so freely vsed, as when their wiues and they

are alone, noughte but bitter wordes and worse shall followe. Abroad, their behauior towards them shall bee passing louing, mingled with kinde mirth; but at home they will so lumpe and lowre, as it were better to be in hel, then to liue in houſe with ſuch hipocriticall Ielious hufbandes. At feaſtes and at aſſemblyes they will vſe themſelues like faintes, affirming they are matched with pearleſſe wenches for good and honeſte behauior; but in their chambers they are diuels, ſuſpecting falſhood and cloſe dealings betweene their deareſt frends and faithfull wiues. And to make an end of the meſſe, I will tell you of an euidence giuen there againſt a moſt notable aſſe.

There was one that, to ſhonne his predeſtituted fortune, and to preuent his hard hap fore-told him by ſome diuell incarnate, did ſearch to ſee if hee miighte finde ſuche an ill-fauoured peece of ſtuffe as all men els would miſlike of, not eſteeming how deformed ſhee were, ſo ſhee brought money with her. And at laſt, Nature had shapen a morcell for his tooth, ſuſh a matche as it was imposſible to mate her, vnleſſe her forenamed mother had bene ¹ hired therewnto. [¶ sig. C 3] ſhee was beetell-browed, goggell-eyed, blobber-lipt, wry-necked, crooke-backt, and ſplay-footed: hauinge the huckle bone of her breech burſt, whereby ſhee wente wriggleſting with her taile like a broken legged dogge; with ſo ſweete a breath, as a man had beene as good to haue gone faſtinge into the common gardens about London, as into her chamber when ſhe was in it. With this vnmatchable creature did this ſtripling marrie, ſuppoſing it vnpoffiſible that ſhe that ² [orig. thā] had neuer a good part in her body, ſhoule haue ſo bad a tricke as to lende his muſtard pot to others vſes. Wherewpon, ioying that hee alone liued with an honeſt woman (as hee thought), hee would laugh at his neighbours folly for chooſing wiues to ſerue other mens turnes, beeing, by feeding of their owne fancies, cuckold by ſuſh as himſelfe was, who had notwithstandinge at home for his owne diet ſuſh an one as would not bee of others regarded, nor himſelfe coulde ſnuffe it off. But his tender crippeſſe, knowing that there were Vulcans that woulde ſometimes looke into ſtraunge Smithes ſhoppes, and perſuading her ſelfe that *Pecunia omnia potest*, did hire a plowman ſhee had, to ſupplye ſome wants in her ſweete hartes abſence. Who, agreed on the matter, did ſo cloſely perfourme their knauery, as to^t their thinkinge the Diuell himſelfe perceiued not their villany.

[^{fr} sig. C 3,
back]

Well, soone after there came certaine chapmen to this clothiers houſe, (for he was of that trade) to make merry with him al the Christ masse holly dayes, in which time they vſed this kinde crippeſſe for his fake ſo familiarly, as they would ieft with her before his face. Who, watchinge for a diſhe from off Ielofies table, feared his owne shadow would beguile himſelfe, and therefore would neuer leauē, vntill by a ſhift he had got them forth of his doores. So played hee with euery one that came after vnto his houſe, warning his wife from vſing ſuch companions familiarly : neuer miſdoubtinge Lobb, his man, that did daunce trenchemore once every day in his priuy kitchin. But the deſtinies that had fworne his horned dubbing, to let him ſee the fruite of his choice, and the certaintey of his fortune, (for to be a cuckold, and know it not, is no more (fayes ſome) then to drincke with a flye in his ¹cuppe, and ſee it not,) brought him on a time into his barne ; when thinking to finde his man a threſhing, he found him a kiſſing of his crippeſſe, with ſo plaine further euidence of his hard fortune, as he killed both man and wife ; and himſelfe was hanged for it afterwardes.

Of theſe ſortes were the billes of enditementes, beeing practiſes ſo well liked and allowed off by this confocation, as the perfourmers of them were rewarded with the beſt entertainement Hell affoordes. And laying plats to effect further miſchief, they concluded that, by cutting one an others throat, their kingdome might fooneſt be enlarged. To which end they inuented theſe meaneſ, which I will reheatre vnto thee.

First, that knauish Ielofy ſhould be requited with clubbing iniury : namely, that they that ſhal abuse their loues with lauifh ſpeeches, ſhall be lubberly beaten by champions, which ſhall be prouided for that purpoſe: ſo that, through knauish miſtrouſneſſe and murthering reuenge, they may all purchase Hell. Then that theſe fooleſ, which (being lodgde in the bed of conſtant amity, taking their reſt in Pleaſures armes: and rocked a ſleepe louingly, like infantes in the cradle of Disporte, by their nurſes Carefullneſſe & Security) toſſe their loues conſtançy ſo lightly with stroakes of biting and iniurious wordes, and baule ſo vnquietly, ſhowing moft ielious trickes of chidilſe miſtrouſneſſe, as they force thereby their nurſes to bee careleſſe of their vndiſcreete quietneſſe, and to turne their bliſſe into bane, That

these (I saye) for requitall of suche foolishnesse, shoulde bee cast off, neuer againe to taste of the sweetenesse of their looues wonted curtesy, by which meanes they may become desperate and hang themselues.

And touching doating or dolting Ielosy, that their wiues, to pay them for their suspition, shoulde not wander much abroade, nor giue entertainment to any gallants at home, but to grove familiar with their seruautes, and ioyne such a helper to their husbandes imperfection as Iacke the scullian is, which shall neuer bee mistrusted. And the better to effecte their knauery, it was agreed that they should bee councelled that euer after Iellious complaints made by [leaf C 4] their husbandes to their frendes, they shoulde sitt with them at dinner and supper for company, to preuent misdoubte, but shoulde not eat a bit, nor drinke a droppe, without their kindnes, for their husbandes vnkindnes did yeeld sufficient teares to quench their thirst with. Marry, in a corner with iacke their partners, to fare as well as money and mirth could make them, Whereby it was thought that they would recant of their Ielosy, and giue them liberty to vse it at their pleasure, so far as themselues might be assured how much they were vnhappy. And that fornicators (after they had obtained their desires according to the course of lawe) shoudl, stroking vppe their crooked shankes, and belabouring their rusty beardes with their wetherbeaten fingers, seeking other wenches, meet with whipper ginnies that shoudl knowe how to vse such old leachers so hand-somely, (beeing contented to indure discontentment, with the thought of the coine that lines their olde bagges,) as they shal be reputed by them for as honest women as liue, vntill the wedding day bee past, when in the euening (fore-thinkinge of the small pleasure is like to ensue by their pastime) they shal faine themselues so sicke, as of force they will lye alone, or at least without those old wretches. So shall they serue them by the space of a moneth, by which time (and it is no marueil) the churles will beginne to misdoubt somewhat. But what shall they care, feeinge they are mistresses of all they haue, and can keepe the chuffes from their owne? When they tell them of their vnkindnesse, these wil be ready to spit in their faces, bidding them to goe trott vnto their trulles. As for them selues, they cannot abide such olde fooles: their breath stinckes, they flauer with their

kiffinge, with fuche other opprobrious scoffes, as by their harde speeches and woorse vface, they shall make the olde fooles to betake themselues to their beades, confessing with shame their shamelesse behauour towardes their late faithfull wiues, and, cursing the cause of this haplesse fortune, cry *Peccauit*, and die quite discontented.

It was further agreed vpon, that backebiters, that will not cease
[1 leaf C 4,
back] to blaze ielious vntrothes, shall bee plagued with hauinge¹ their
 tounges pulled foorth, or else woorse punished by loofinge the
 regardes of supposed honesty. And all the commodity fuche mal-
 licous Impes shall reape for their knauery, is, a faire purchased
 place called Bridewell; and for their false reportes they shall bee
 sure of a proper cage to finge in; where their good names dyinge
 with their honestye, they shall bee carried from thence in cartes of
 reproach, and be buried in continual infamy, ronge to hell with
 lashes of whip-corde. And the liers: they, because they would not
 be iellious, but cannot leauie it, shal weare hornes, whether they will
 or no.

But the grand wittalls, that will allure custumers by the fine
 wenches, and with hauing inriched themselues thereby, will turne
 their knauery into villanie. They by their crabbednesse shall come
 to extreame pouerty, and then endeauoring to put in triall their olde
 custome, their wiues shall either growe stuborne and reape no profit,
[2 orig.
librall] or else too too liberall,² spending the remnant which is left, leauing
 their husbandes as monylesse as witleffe. As for the last sort, not
 least, whose mistrustfullnesse cut their owne throates, causing their
[3 orig.
lewdnesse] wiues to fall vnto lewdnesse³ by ouer rulinge them with hippocr[i]ticall
 iurisdiction, that their halting dif[fi]mulation shoule breed vpstartes to
 faue their fore forheads; and they, regarding to maintaine their owne
 good names with hipocricie, shall thereby plante newe trickes of
 huswuerie in their wiues consciences.

Thus, *Tell troth* (quoth *Robin*), thou hast hard some thinge that
 thou neuer hardst of before, which, when it shall come vnto the
 diuellis eares, I knowe hee will bee monstrous colericke; but it mattereth
 not: it is better he should fret, then humanity fade. For vnlesse
 these his inuentions should be knowne, how shoulde they be preuented?

I tell thee (frend), howsoeuer some thinke of me, *Robin*, as he is a good fellowe by name, so is hee no lese in minde ; and I sweare vnto thee I had rather see the diuell's dance the morice alone in that fiery hellhouse, then a christian to foote it there, through want of knowledge of their ¹ inuentiones. O, tell troth, is it not great pittie to see so [¹ sig. D] manye thousandes, through folly to inthrall themselues to tormentes euerlasting ? thou wouldest thinke it vnpossible that the hundred part of them which are there onely for Ielosy, should bee bred in a world. Why, man, I haue onely tould thee of the Ielosy betweene man and wife, and the louer and his sweet hart ; I haue not touched the Ielosy betweene frend and frend, the father and his sonne, the mother and her daughter, yea, and betweene whome not, that are ioyned together, either by consanguinity, neigbourhood, by office, or duety. I let these passe, because I meane not to meddle with them ; onely, because thou wantest some way to thy iornyes end, I will tell thee a pretty iest, which though it bee misplaced for want of memory, yet here it may come in very good tim[e]. And it is of an olde dotor that was very well serued.

This dotor, who, though he were a man of fowerscore yeares of age (knowing himselfe vnable to satisfy the expectation of a widow of his owne standing), yet would he needes marry with a girle of foureteene ; Who, being constrained thereunto by her frendes compulsion, not knowinge what belonged to the rites of matrimony, was contented to loue him entierly, and to liue truely vnto him without thought of dishonesty. Yet so ill conceited was this foolish dotor, and so weary of his happy estate, as although he knew assuredly the cubbard was close shutt and without any crannes, yet could he neverthelesse suspect the silly mouse, and would set trappes, hopinge to catche her, counselled therenvto by his misdeeming thoughtes. If shee had beene never so little out of his sight, he thought it was the spring time, being but Christmas ; to stay the forwardnes whereof, his frost-biting wordes should nippe her. The younge cubbe at last (learning subtily by the olde Fox), suspectinge there was some further sweete in a married womans life, then as yet shee had tafted off, onely persuaded thereunto by her hufbandes Ielosye, tooke harte at grasse, and woulde needes trie a newe conclusion. The nexte day beeing foorth at dinner with him, where were likewise many women

[¹ sig. D,
back.
*Catch
word* foorth] of all degrees, shee amongst the rest chose ¹ forth an old matron to passe away the time with, which in communication, finding her to be of such a courteous disposition, as vnto her shee made complaint of the seruile bondage her frends had brought her too. Which shee pittyng (for what hart so hard as would not pitty her, that wanted alltogether contentmente?), gaue her such good councell as shee her selfe had tried, hauinge beeene pestered with the like inconuenience, though not with so many hart-breakinges: whereof this younge woman liked so well, on the morrow she meant to put some of her conclusions in practise. And a brother of hers comming home vnto her the next day, she likewise shewed vnto him howe the Ielosy of her husband increased, desiring him to help her to effect a practise she determined to try; to which he foone agreeing, they stole both into one of her chambers, there spending the day in secret communication, How it might bee best performed; which beeing earnest, passed away the time so foddernly as night was come vpon them ere they thought on it, so that thereby he, forced to departe, was let foorth at the dore by her selfe, whome a maied shee had (which the olde dotor made more of then of her selfe) did espy, not knowing who it was. But shee had newes inough that it was a manne, and so good to her liking, as in all haft her maister must be made acquainted therewith; he, vpon the hearing thereof, growing so hot, as he did not onely beate his wife, but in a great rage turned her forth of the dores, reuiling her most shamefully. The silly woman had no other succour but to goe to her brothers that was married, in the same towne (for she durst not complaine to her father on a foddaine, he was so cruell), who receiued her kindly, and lodge[d] her for that night, because it was so late. And in the morning betimes hee went with her to her fathers, making him acquainted with the whole matter. Who, after the true search of the certainty thereof, condemned his owne folly for the match, sending for the olde miser, that was met at the dore postng thetherwards to complaine. But at his comming his expectation was quite frustrated, for wher, according to a former course had in the like practise, he looked to haue his wife rebuked & himselfe moned, ¹ hee was nowe, not onely sharply threatened for his misusage towards her, but also deseruedly scoffed at, and driuen force perforce (because hee was matched with his superiors), to bee there-

[¹ sig. D 2.
Catch word
he]

with contented. And vpon the triall of the truth he found himselfe so plainlye convicted, as hee confessed his faulte, and asked her forgiuenes, fewing for a reconciliacion to bee made between them. Which done, they departed home, & his wife, not forgetting the shame shée had indured by his meanes, studdied to requite his villany, and effected it after this manner. Her husband kept a proper man whome he did put in so great trust, as he hiered him for a stale to deceiue himselfe by wishing him to trie his wiues constancy, Who dallied so long with the flame, as at last he was burnte with the fire of desire, his affection so iumply meeting with hér conceipt, as within a shorte time, what by faire promises, larg[e] giftes, and her beauty (three notable baites to catch a kind foole with), shē had so won him to her will, as he would not onely reueale vnto her what so euer his wife maister would say, but also would euer by false oathes fobbe him vppe with a thousand vntruthes concerning her approued honesty. Well, his good reportes encreased but further mislike in his maister, with a more earnest desire to finde her false; and there vpon he would teach his man how he shoulde further trie her, setting downe such plaine plots as by the¹ practise of them hee was shortly after [^{1 orig. thy}] ready at any time to doe his mistresse any good turne in his maisters absence. He had subtil wit inough, and therefore they both sped the better, he prouing so good a plaister to her sore, as if shē and her husband fel out in the night, shē with her man would sport in the day time; and because the olde foole was so couetous as he would drinke onely small beere to saue charges, they two would courrose whole gallons of wine at their going abroad, which was often without suspition to the olde fooles hornes. Allwayes at dinner and supper he shoulde haue her with him to shaddowe mistrust, but shē would not eate a bit with him, because his fare was so base, colouring her nicenes with want of stomacke, and with sorrow for his churlishnes towards her. With which² diffembling (for what cannot [^{2 sig. D 2,} back]) women doe by teares?) her husband, what betweene his mans flattery and his wiues hipocricy, was quite chaunged, being verely perswaded now that shē is a faint, repenting he euer mistrusted her, & recanting of his folly in falsly accusing her. For a mends whereof, hee confessed the second time to her parents and frendes that he had most vndereruedly ouerawed his faithful wife, greeued with nothing more

then his hard vifage towardes her, in restraining her, beeing young, of honest liberty. In requitall whereof, it was lawfull for her with his young stripling to goe forth and returne at her pleasure, to be in what company she best liked of, and nothing suspected, for at this time he wold not let to sweare he had the onely honest woman in the worlde. And if anye of his frends had reproud him of such folly, aleadging that youth was foone inticed to lewdnesse, his aunswere was, hee cared not, and his thankes were sharpe wordes. But if his neighbours tould him shée kept bad compayne, associating other women that were good fellowes, hee, forth with, would raile vpon the reporters for flaundering his wiues honesty, and would straight haue the lawe of them for calling her good name in question. And thus liued this dotor as long as the distinies woulde permit him, at his death leauing onely his hornes for his successors portion.

How like you this, Tell-troth? you smild at this mans folly, but you had more neede to pittie the weaknes of such as, onely led with extremes, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childisly. But nowe, becaufe thou art in a manner at thy iourneys ende, I must leau thee, yet, before I goe, knowe this farther newes. That at my comming from hell, the assemblie aforesaid had thought to haue broke vppe, and gon euery gouerner to his prouince to take their pleasures, beeing ouertoyled with their tedious consultations. But as they were a rising, there came one in fweating, with a supplication from Pierce-Pennelle, inforsing them thereby to a newe labour. Which I perciuing, and immagining it woulde bee long before it were ended, beeing already weary of their company, lefte that ¹ newes for the knight of the poste, and so you are wellcome to your iourneys ende. Robin good fellow, looking for no other thankes for his company, but that (frend Tell troth) thou doft me the fauour to publish this my inuectiue against Ielosy.

[¹ leaf D 3]

[² orig.
deliuering]

Wherevpon he deliuerd ² vnto me a scroule of paper with the contents hereafter followinge, and so hee vanished awaye, I know not howe.

[Large Coat of Arms in the original.]

Robin Good-fellowe his Inuectiue against Ielofy.

[^t leaf D 3,
back]



He Poetes altogether aymed not amisse in their fiction, whereas, setting downe the torments of hell, they affirme ther is no torture that inflictes the furies with more extreame cruelty then the fond conceites of a ielious harte; and why? for that the reuenge of a disdainefull woman is deadly, and her rewardes for mistrustfullnesse, guiftes of vnceasinge grieve, which in the ende woorke vtter destruction. The cause nourished in men maketh the effect possible and the practise intollerable.

There is no sweete so stronge, but the delighte thereof may bee crossed by the contrarye; nor anye hart so firme, but continuall vnkindnes maye remooue it. The tall oake, that waueth not with euerye paffe of the winde, is easelye throwne to the ground by an extraordinary tempest. The hardest flint is pierst with often droppes; and it is not impossible, though vnlikelye, that the skie shoulde fall. Are they not worthy to be nipte with the piercing stormes of a biting winter, that, hauing a shelter to defend themselues from such outragious wether, and knowing a tempest will come which may ouerthrow it, neglecteth neverthelesse to preuent that daunger by vnderropping the same? or deserue they to haue their estate pittied that wilfully seeke their owne vndooing? As it is a part of wisdom to foresee a daunger, so, not to withstand and to endeavour to frustrate the same with reason and forecast, is a badge of extremest folly.

And *Peccai* deseruedlye falles on their backes, that wittinglye and willinglye incurre the hassard thereof. If men had no vnderstanding of the plagues of hell they would be too too vitious, and their pleasure could not but bee their destruction, vnlesse euery one had a hale-backe for his companion. If Ielofy be a torment more

Principiis
obsta: sero
medicina
paratur,
Cum mala
per longas
conualauer
moras.

[¹ leaf D 4] mercilesse then diuelish Pluto, and his common ¹ wealth more greeuous then the sorrowes of hell, I sorrow to thincke that men should be so witlesse as to honour the Diuell, and so carelesse as to delight in such a weale-publike. But be it as it is, or let it be woorse, as it is vnpossible it shoulde, their conceites are grown to be so base, and their enterprises so beast-like, as for the most part they follow Ielosy so eagerly, as they constraine their dearest freendes to cut their throates with the knife they most feare, when both the euell it selfe and the cause therof might be remooued, so every one would ground their loue vpon discretion.

Arte citate
loque rate[us]
remoque
refiguntur :
at[ic] leves
currus[us] arte
regend[us]
amor.

If the practises and proceedings of loue be so forcible as they bring death with them to the hopelesse harte, hee is vnwise that will striue to encrease those affections which are allready more then extraordinary. Waxe, by a temperate heat is mollified and formed, being softe to any shape, but through a furious flame it either wasteth and consumeth, or els will not be touched without defiling of our fingers. The hartes of women are like vnto waxe, that, tempered by the passions of loue, are ready to take the impression thereof; but if it coole againe before the printe of kindnesse be surely set on, or if the flame of fury breake foorth about it, being sett on fire by the coales of misgouvernemente, to what bad ende will the good beginning be turned? and how many hartbreakinges by quarrels and disagrementes will arise in the smoother of such smoaky misrule! Doubtlesse the experience thereof hath taughte too too many to their griefe, and will teach more to their vndoing, vnlesse the fwelling of that sore be asswaged with som wholsome medicin. But they that only haue entertained the superficies of loue, neuer harboring him in their hartes, affirme that he and Ielosy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other. If they that holde the same for a maxime, meane in the defence of their freendes honours, and to be Ielious of their wiues good name and reputation, I graunt that that is most kinde affection.

[² leaf D 4,
back]

But when Ielosy ariseth of a foolish fondnes, grounded with out reason, to bee remooued with euerye lighte occasion; or of mistrustfullnesse of the partie loued, without triall of anye vn²constancy; or, lastly, of childish affection, lead away with an vnruely appetite, and nourished with dispayringe conceites, conceiuing what is not, and

judginge onely by shadowes which remoue all hope, causyng continual discontentment,—that maketh the ielious mans case desperate, and the thinge foolish.

There is no concorde betweene water and fire, nor any medium betweene loue and hatred; for either the hart sighes vnder the burthen of entiere affection, or groanes throughe the waight of greeuous dissimulation. Loue couereth a multitude of sinneful offences, and loyalty recouereth a world of ouerlipt infirmities; but dislike findeth rottennesse in sound timber, spots in the pure white, and vnkindnesse in the constant harte; it engendereth Ielosy, and procureth enmities; it hatcheth breakepeace, and glories in quarrels; all it delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all it ioy to encrease mislike. If it hath it beginning of louses contrary, yea, in nature, how can there bee anye brotherly equality betweene them? vnlesse, vnhappilye, wee will make the eye father to both, that seeinge aswell good as euell, entiseth the hart, through corrupt affections, to be misled by wicked elusions, bringing foorth bastardes in steede of true begotten children: For if Ielosy be louses brother, it is by corruption of nature brought foorth vnlawfully, which may thus be manifested. After the eye hath chosen an obiect which brings so sweet contentment to the hart, as it highly delighteth in the same, that prouing so kinde loue and such feruent affection in both, as lawfull requitall makes a pleasing satisfaction, the eye receiuinge kinde glaunces for amorous glotinges, and louinge harte-breakinges for affectionate hart sighthings. The eie beeing pleased with an eye, and the hart contented with a hart, they frolique both in glory as long as they rest in constancie; but wandring from forth that sanctuary, the eie either spies another eie that better pleaseith it, and the harte likes of another harte that better contentes it, or else the eie lookes curiously into his owne hart, and spies some fault in himselfe, which, displeasing, begetteth Ielosy: whereby the eie may be said to be originall and father of both.

¹ How is it possible that falsehood should be in frenship? or can [² sig. E] the hand beguile the hart that ruleth it? no more will a louing wife playe false with him to whome shee is ioyned both by the lawe of god and man, or a frend crosse her louing exceedinges, in whome his hart delighteth. That which is bred in the bone will neuer out of

the fleshe; and what *Nature* hath made, *Arte* cannot marre. If Enuie hath a tricke with her heele, all the diuell in hell cannot alter it.

Quo[tib] formosa[m]
[si] non nisi
[ca]sta
place[bat].
Noz pos-
[sunt] vallis
ista [coi]re
modis.

And I maruell menne are so foolish as to matche themselues with such women whome they haue cause to suspect. Doubtlesse, either their own life hath beene lasciuious, by which they iudge others, or their meaning bad in chusing such companions; when nowe, ouerlate repentinge of their bargaine, they light on a worser mischiefe.

Allthough the fox be so crafty as he deceives many, yet sometimes he meeteth with a champion more subtil than himselfe. The pitcher goeth long to the water, but at laste getteth a knocke through the bearers fault, and is brought home broken. The Ielious man feareth his owne shadow, and looketh narrowly vnto it, yet (likely) at last commeth a substaunce, who (when he thinketh least on it) entereth, doinge him iustice, though hee neuer the wiser. It is straunge that menne are so foolish as to seeke their owne vndoing, for assuredly looke, by what measure they sell by, the same shall they receiue their owne, without aduaantage. The quarreling mate shall not complaine for want of knockes, or the ielious man longe desire hell, when the one shall finde like swashbucklers vnto himselfe, and the others wife will not sticke to cut his throat with the knife hee hath so long feared.

If mens loue be simplie good, women cannot but affectionate them with like simplicity; but if they playe false (Ielofye beeing their cloake), they will be sure to keepe knaues to crosse their cardes with. In these dayes euery cobler doth feare the carter, and setes vppe his whippe at his dore to keepe Iohn Cobbilero from his lattice. And I pray you vpon what reasons shall these ielious trickes be discarded? Somme haue it by nature, and say, 'kit must after kind, bee it but in scraping of a ¹frying panne.' Beware of naturall foolles as long as you liue; for a bad tricke ingrafted in them, neuer leaueth them vntill he hath brought seauenty worse into his roome. And, as for the inuention of their predeceffors, they must needs goe to the diuell with them for companie. Others builde their knauery on other mens misfortune, that are matched with Ioone, *communis omnibus*, that could play at bucklers so soone as she was past her cradell. Oh, shee is a tall peece of flesh, and will stand to her tackling so stoutly, as the diuell himselfe shall not get the waifters from her. I counsell

[¹ sig. E,
back]

him that thinketh hee hath met with her companion, to cease to greeue at it, and striue not to remoue that he cannot stirre, least happily shee falls quit from him, & neuer serueth him after. Manye honour him of custome, because they hold their landes of him by homage, their predecesſors allwayes hauing beene his sworne subiectes. A pittifull custome, that tendeth to the tenautes vndoing, and a title that might very well bee resigned ouer and denied; ſeeing it only toucheth free taile, or ſeruices vnreafonable to be perfourmed. And a great part obtaine his entertainment by vfe and practife: those are greene headed that long for reformatiōns, & would haue new lawes iuſtited euery quarter, defiſing to try new conculſions, whether it were poſſible for a man to liue vnto himſelfe. Which are ſo delighted with common caſes, as they make honesty a neceſſity, thrusting him out of the dores at their pleaſure, by viſing them moſt shamefully whome they ought to loue entirly. But moſt playe ielious parts of knauery and bad entention, meaning to make a practife of paltry peuiſhneſſe and knauiſh conceiptes. They will be ielious to try their wiues or frendes conſtanſy, being neuer afhaſmed of their owne villany.

What ſhall I ſaye? I greeue to thiſke on mens hard happe, and womenſ vnkindneſſe; the one nouriſhing miſchiefe, and the other perſewiſg, with deadly execution, the tormentes they ſuſpekte and greeue at. I haue hard (euen of kinde gentlewomen reported, whoe haue beene ouer vexed with the ſuſpičious conceiptes of ielious huſbandes) that their flaundereous thoughts ¹concerning the ſuſpected crimes, did not ſo much aggrauate their owne griefe (though it were intollerable), as the fight therof did encrease their wiues ioy and delight, onely pleased with this ſweet melody: That they knewe themſelues to bee moſt conſtant and faithfull, though ſuſpected of the contrarye, and their huſbandes, defiſing no more then conſtanſy, cannot content themſelues with their deſired felicity, but greeue their own ſoules with triphells, and eate vppe their owne harts through ſuſpition of diſloyalty. I would but demaund what recompence a ielious man receiueth by all his trauell, or what little ioy he reapes by his miſtrouſneſſe and continuall penſiueneſſe? The lowest ebbe is counteruailed with as high a floode, and boystrouſ ſtormes with calme wether; the gloimest daye maye darken the ſunne, but not

Quidquid
[ſe]ruator,
cuſpi]m[uſ
ma[gi]ſ:ſ:
ipsaque
[fu]rem cura
[v]joeat :
pauci [q]uod
ſin[it]
al[t]er,
amant.
[t sig. E 2]

abate his pride; and as there are extreame droughtes, so sometimes falls the contrary by extraordinary tempests. There is no fowre but may bee qualified with sweet potions, nor any doubtfull malady that may not be allied with delightfull musicke¹; onely ielous thoughts with loue are vncurable, and that a corasive most dangerous to mens hertes. It is vaine to striue against the streame, and as foolish to build castels in the aire. He that thinketh to catch the aire in a bottle, deserueth to be laft at; & he that would ty vp his wiues or frends honesty in a string, to bee pitied: both follies fit for inno[c]ents & practizes without end. I thinke *Vulcans* Ielofy preuailed him nothing, & his catching of *Marce* & *Venus* in a purcenet as little, except a confirmation of his great grief, & an assured knowledg of his horned head, prouing a continual badge of his infamy. The like followed many others suspition, and the like will ensewe of such folly. *Vulcan* knewe that *Mars* was a copartner with him in *Venus* bosome. And he himselfe could not but blush when hee had wooed his owne spouse (the goddesse of loue), in steede of *Briceris*, his beloued paramore. I knowe that every one hath his faulfe, and all deserue equall punishmente; onely *Robin good fellow* wishes, that mens & womens presumtions may be certaine, and that their suspecte may bee built on a sure ground.

[² sig. E 2,
back]

² If men would imitate the same rule, to auoide Ielofy, which *Cicero* hath set downe in his Offices, as most requisite to maintaine a happy weale publike (alleaginge, *it was the parte of mad men, to wishe for a gloomy day when the sonne shined most gloriously; or to desire warre and turmoylng troubles, when the common-wealth flourisheth most happily through peace and tranquillity; But, to alay hurly burlies with councel, and to make warres cease by aduice, was greate wisedome,*)—They would not encrease their owne greefe and sorrow: or rather, beeing at quiet, and obtaining the height³ of pleasure by mutuall loue and affection, they woulde not (I say) long after vnrest, or pursue troubles, and continuall disquietnes, with might and maine, without measure; seeing the obtaining of their owne desire is a prooef of their misfortune, and the iudgements after the verdict of such a title, continual shame and infamy. The man is happy that is accounted happy, and none are richer then those that be so

[³ orig.
height]
reus est,
niumque
fauet ille
ori, cui
itur victa
ma cruta
a, rea.

adiudged of. If, then, fame be so fauourable as to reckon a beggar equall with a kinge, is not hee a foole which will himselfe reprooue her of an vntrueth? The prouerbe adiudges that ‘an il bird which will defile his owne nest;’ and is not he a bad cuckold, that will register himselfe one when the clarke hath left him out of fauour? By how much it is better to be one, beeing accounted none, then to be none, and reputed one,—by so much the more are they beholdinge to themselues for the horne that blowes their Ielosy vntill it flames. An extraordinary smoake breedes suspect of a hurtefull fire, and many sparkes make men to wonder; yet the harme of both of them is preuented by care and diligence.

I would but know the manne (*semper excipio*, the wittall) that would not be loath to be pointed at with a paire of hornes, & yet I know very many, and haue hard of an innumerable company, that haue made the whole parrishe, yea, the country, priuy to their misfortune by desarte of them. Well, then, hereafter if there be any that hath a tooting head, and would not haue it sene, let him keepe it secretely to himselfe, and make the best of it. He goes farre that neuer turnes, and shee is a diuell that will neuer¹ mende; and since the [leaf E 3] diuell is good to some body, let the ielious man make much of her, that the shee diuell may bee good to him.

Sorrow craues pitty, and submission deserues pardon. Hee is ouer Flectitur
tus voce r
gante de hard harted that will not be entreated, and diuelish that cannot forgiue. If, then, vpon penitent submission, a man shalbe forced to receiue her into fauour that hath offended, will it not be so much to his better contentmente, by how much a few are acquainted with the mischiefe? That grief is best disgested that bringes not open shame, but a spightefull blow prooues a noted scarre. But suppose the worst that can happe, imagine shee will neuer be good, building vpon the old sayinge: *Shee that knowes where Chристes croſſe standes, will neuer forget where great A dwels*,—yet a man were better to bee troubled with a queane alone, then to bee forced to keepe both a queane and a knaue: for as the law grantes a deuorcement, so is it requisite it shoulde allow the woman mainetenance; and what shall her knaue lacke that she hath? Whosoeuer, therefore, that is bound to a bad bargaine, whereof comes two mischiefes, either to keepe a queane or

Quo
sem[el] est
imbuita
recens
serubit
odo[rem]
Testa diu.

E duob[us] malis, mi-
ni[um]um est
el[igendum]. to parte with money, if he will follow Robin good fellowes counsel, let him rather choose to diet her in his owne house, then to pay for the boord of her and her louer in a strange place.

But because it is the best labour to woorke the confusyon of such an ennemy as Ielofy is, whose company encreaseth multitudes of inconueniences, My meaninge is to set downe some necessary helpes how such a mischiefe may bee best preuented. And first, I councel euery one that is infected with such a plague to seeke to forestall the daunger thereof, by kinde and gentle plaisters. I meane, that shee who hath a ielious husband, subiect to the like infirmities before mencioned, shoulde reclaime him by gentle vsage, and ouercome his vaine suspition with modest behauour, not vsinge any vnciuill tricke in disdainefull manner before his face, he hating the same; or vsing other suspitious practises, onely to crosse him with them; and so to carry themselues in all places, and at all times, as they may neither giue cause of offence vnto them or of mistrust vnto others. The like meane ought to be executed by men, that they overlay not their

[leaf E 3.
back.]

*Catchword
fearefull]*

[Fle]ctitur
obl[seq]uiuio
curfua[tus]
ab arbo[re]
ramus:
[fra]nges, si
[vir]ges
experi[car]e
tuas.

fearefull wiues, brauing them with disdainefull likelyhoodes of dishonest behauour, but that they dissuade them from suspition by the contraries, remouing their ielious conceites by kindnesse and louely dalliance. It is easie to cure a greene wound, but the daunger of a fested sore is mortall. The young tree will stoup, when the old shrewd cannot bend; and new conceites are easily remoued, but engrauen thoughts will not be rubbed forth; and loue is of so great force, as he sooner ouercomes with a faire word, then his enimye shall conquer by all his forces. Howe happie is that common wealth where peace raigneth, and that family which concord gouerneth, the one nourishing true amity amongst her subiectes, the other establishing vanity betweene man and wife.

*What greater grieve then life with discontent,
When discontent of want of loue ariseth ?
Loue hath no lacke, but allwayes liues content,
And any thing to please his mind sufficeth ;
Rich is true loue, abounding full with store,
The lacke whereof makes want a grieuous sore.*

*The sweete of loue doth yeeld so sweete a tasf,
As mixt with gall, he turnes the sower to sweete :
By him is strength and blessed weale imbraſt ;
By him is harts-ease gaind, and ioy moſt greet.
Strong is true loue, whose ſtrength is kindly ſet :
To heape with ſweete, that ſower his ioy ne let.*

*The ſport of loue is full of ioyfull ſmiles,
He cures all ſores with one moſt kindeſt value ;
A pleaſing kiſſe his frowning rage beguiles,
And one faire word his anger doth diſſolute ;
Pleasant is loue, he ioyes in weale and woe ;
His rage with ſmiles, his wroth with kiſſes goe.*

¹ Thus liueth loue, and no otherwife fare they that be his followers ; [t leaf E 4] they are neuer hart ſicke, because they neuer ſuſpeſte ; nor euer diſpleaſed, because for that by themſelues they are not grieued. Who is more tormented then he that teareſ his owne fleſh ? or who deſerues more griefe, then they that will not vſe the remedy ? To lock vp ones wife, for fear of ſparrow-blaſting, dub himſelf a cuckouſd within an iron cage, and to ſeeke to² rule her by correction, when he cannot gouerne himſelf with diſcretion, is to gather a rod to beate to³ his owne breeche. For whileſ ſhe is lockte in her ſtudie, her mind hath the more liberty to inuent a fit reuenge againſt her going abroad. What is it they cannot eſſe, if they haue a will therewnto ? And what woman is there that liues without a meaneſ to repaye a good turne, or to requite a bad ? Vſe them, therefore, well, is the wiſeſt way to liue quietly ; to loue them entirely, the onely meaneſ to bee long happy.

If ſhe meaneſ to deceiue thee, her inuention is hard to be preuented, for, watch her neuer ſo narrowly, ſhe will finde a time to performe her knauery. The filieſt creatures are ſildome catcht in ordinary trappes : and can women want wit to frustrate a common ſtaſe ? If it wer poſſible to know their thoughts, it were likely their practiſes might be hindered ; but as long as *secreta mihi* raigſ, the rains of their liberty are at their own pleaſures. And I thinke men are beſt at eaſe when they are ſo pleaſed,—at leaſt, wiſe men are, or

Non mea-
[tem]
ſeruare po-
tes, licet
of m̄nia
claudas
omnibus
ſ[ex]clusis,
int[u]ſus]
adulter eri
Si sapio in-
dulge
dom[i]n[u]ſe :
vultus[que]
ſeueros
exue.

Centum
fron[-]te
occulos,
centum cer[-]
uice gere-
bat Argus,
& hos vnu[s]
ſepe
ſefellis[t
amor.

Quod licet
ingratum
est : quod
non licet
acrius virit.

[1 leaf E 4,
back]

[Flec]timur

in [v]iti[i]um

sem[per]

cupimus

[que] negata

[cu]ji pec-

care [flic]et,

peccat

[m]inus.]

ipsa

[pol]testas

se[m]jna

nequit[i]æ

langui[d]iora

facit.

should be, seeing their contentment hanges in their wills. For what house is in quiet where the goodwife is out of patience? If the maister bee angry, the fault onely lies on the misstrisse her necke; but be she moued, about goes the maides, away runne the menne, and I make a doubt whether her husband dares to out stand her. I am assured shee will out chide him. Flatery is a sweet baite, and kindnesse a wholesome potion; & nothing more then vnlawfullnes, enticeth vs vnto lewdnesse. The delighte of sweete is taken away by surfitting of fuggar; but who by nature is not desirous of nouelties? There would not so many purcase Tiborne, vnlesse there were a Bull to

hang them; nor so many yeld vppe¹ the possession of their garmentes

to the hangmen, were ther not a lawe to condernme them. And I

warrant you, there would be fewer horned heads, if ielious hartes

were scanner, wherby the practise of watching might decay. Who

knowes liberty better then they that haue beene in bondage? And

whoe, for the most parte, vfeth it worse then they that knowe it

best? A mind ouerlad with ioy, committeth manye errours in his

iolity; & a harte pressed downe with sorrowe, thinkes of manye mis-

chiefes. Extreames are neuer good: and howe can one sooner fall

into them, then being made acquainted with one of them? Hauing

beene in the dungion of discontent, and being set free to range at

our pleasure, we thinke we are neuer at the territ of delight, before,

with Ouids builders, wee touch the heauens, so imperfect is our

nature.

Per swafions are of great force to moue women, whose harts,

though most tender, withftand nothing more then crabbed vsage.

Vowe loue vnto them, and they will sweare constancy vnto you; and

if perchance they make some overslip by their deseruing Ielosy, yet

grow not straight collericke, but say your paternoster before you

reprehend them for it; in which time, which is as small as may be,

you shall, by tempering your wit with wisdome, finde so tractable a

medicine to drawe her from a seconf fault, as her penitencie will take

away all suspition of hipocricie. Say but you are sorrowfull to heare

it, or ashamed to see it, and, of my word, her next shall be an oth

neuer to commit the like folly. What a cheape *sub pena* is this to

drawe an answere from the conscience! When, paraduenture, to

deale otherwise, would come to neede a writ of rebellion. There is

O vtinam

[a]rguerem

[sic, vt non

[v]incere

pos[s]em :

Me mi[s]er-

quare

[t]an bono

causa mea

est?

Per vene-

re[n]s iuro,

puerique

puerisque

volatilis ar-

cus: me non

admissi cri-

minis esse

reum.

no assurance better then that which is made with a safe conscience ; and no man stands on a better ground, then he that buildes on his wiues word. If she speaks it, why should we not rather belieue her, then an other that should report no more vnto vs ? Oh, I knowe what you will say, because she speakes in her owne defence; and maye not the other flaunder vpon a malicious will? What will not the diuell doe for aduaantage, and what can hee doe without his instrumentes ? To bee too too cruell ¹ breeds repentaunce, as well as care- [¹ sig. F] lessenes forerunnes sorrow. When tender dropes will pearce the flint, the hard steele is vnecessarye ; and where good counsell will correcte, a rod were better awaye then present. They say that ouerawing makes fooles, and what will they let to doe ? It is as hard to get any good out of them that are witlesse, as to force water out of a flint ; and yet I say not but that good may be gotten of them ; but with it, I affirme it must be by kind meanes. *Fy, fy, sweete hart,* Hæc tib[i]
sunt
mecu[m],
michi sunt
communia
tectum : in
bona cur
quisquam
tertius ista
venit?
what lose trickes are these ! or what immodify will this be accounted ! Will strike so deepeley into a reformatiue conscience, as there shall not neede out vpon thee, with some beastly tearme of a brutish toungh for a whit of correction. And they will drive an obedient wife to such contrition, as there shall be no thought of an vnkind extrution, either of her out of dores, or of her good name and fame from it wonted reputaution. Why is the husband called his wiues good-manne, but because hee ought to be a meane to withdraw her from such imperfections as nature hath left in her ? He, in my iudgement, can be but a bad common wealthes man which is an ill husband, for, looke what ill fashions raigne vncorrected at home, the like inormities should rest in his forrain charge. For who knowes not that we haue the greatest care (if we haue any at al) of those things which are nearest vnto our selues ? and why may not I affirme that such a one will respecte little a common profitte, when hee regards so lightly his owne priuate welfare ? Oh, I woulde Robin might be tedious, not troublesome, hee would then endeavor a further probability of the ielious mans folly, but fearing he hath offended too too much already, hee will euen but shut vppe his remnant brefely.

*The sweetest flower whose staulk sharpe prickles gard,
Yeeldes pleasant sent, through care, without annoy :*

*The Goosbery, with hurtfull bushes ward,
Surrenders vp it selfe, through care to ioy.*

{² sig. F,
back}

¹ *The rammish hauke is tamd by carefull heed,
And will be brought to stoope vnto the lewre ;
The fercest Lyon will requite a deed
Of curteſie, with kindneſſe to endure.*

*What fish ſo proud as doth diſdaine a baite ?
Nor fish, beast, foule, nor fruit, but takes the mate.
Then ſince that care ſpeedes beſt with curteſie,
Vſe care and kindneſſe to mate Ielofy.*

Nec blan-
[er]atis, nec
[er]it tibi
coſ[mi]ſſis
amica,
[pe]rfer-
& ob[du]ra:
poſt[m]odo
mitis [er]it.
[2 orig.
noysommes]

This is Robins counſell, a ſoueraigne oyle of experience to drawe away the droppings of Ielofyes noſe, that ſo much anoyes the patients harte. Which muſt be wrought moſt gently, laboured with the perfwafions of reaſon, the effecte wheroſ, I warrant you, wil proue ſo profitable, as either he will be freed from noyfomnes,² or haue his noſe put out of ioynt. Conetuouinſe is a peſtent help to Ielofy ; for how can he that hath ſet al his loue on hiſ money, be drawn to beſtow part thereoſ on hiſ wife ? No, of my credit, he that hath crept into that vaine, hath ſo far crawled from honeſty, as hee cares not what iniury hee doth. He knowes that loue will aſke coſt ; and why doth he loue the diuell, but to faue charges ? For could he be contented to doe good, as he is forward to worke miſchife, he would deale with loue better then to locke him vp in hiſ coffers. Oh, it is a ſweete thing to him to diue vppe to the elbowe in a bagge, while the kind man beſtowes hiſ time in kiffes. But let the other be aueray, that whileſt thiſ inioyſe paradiſe, he ſhall be ſtriuing to paſſe through the eie of an neſle, which ſhall proue vnpoffible. It is a gay thing to come to dignity, but it is a more beſiſciall thiſe to vſe honeſty ; but whye doe I talke of honeſty to them that neuer meant to enter eternity ? Surely for no other cauſe, but for that Robin, knowinge the ſlauey that is prepared for you, is moued to pitty, and could wiſh you had care to preuent the punishment of the cormorantes dungion. But I care not howe little honeſty you haue, ſo you ſhunne Ielofy, for I onely harpe on that ſtring at thiſ preſent, which

I say cannot bee a¹voided without the entertainment of loue, who will [^{1 sig. F 2}] soone thrust him headlong besides his possession.

Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori. The passions of loue Desine
 are so passing kinde, as they subdewe wherefoeuer they become, yea, (*c[on]re*)de
 assuredly they will either conquer or kill; and because life is most minni [vi]tia
 sweete, we will rather yeeld to affection then die for Ielosy. Loue is irritari[e]
 a pleasing gout, which will suffer vs no more to be misled by vnreft, vetando:
 then the tormenting gout wil giue his patientes leauue to rest while [ob]sequio
 the paine is vnceasing. And such a hartie dropsie is he, as he swels ap[er]tus
 his criples affections with so great kindnesse, as they sing no song, but ipse tuo.
 Ah, I loue. He is a nettle that stinges the hart with continuall En ego
 pleasure; and that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies, on co[n]sideror
 whome none shall fix the fancy kindly, that shall not be stroken with tua sum
 a darte of constauncy; hee is the greeuing woe that breedes continuall noua preda,
 ioy, the fond conceipt that fastens faithful thoughts in his place, and C[on]cupido.
 that euill that reapes eternall good. To rehearste her qualities, were Porrigim[us]
 a new worke for Robin-good-fellow, and to followe his properties, erunt
 not a labour without profit. But his chiefest qualitie² is to be kind tert[i]que
 and his next to be constant; he euer forgives, and still forgetes faultes. s[ecundu]res
 He delightes not in breed-bates, nor doth he glory in the quarrells of assiduē
 dearest frendes, but all his actions are faithfull, and all his thoughts turba
 frutfull. Dandill him, and he will sporte thee; set him in thy lappet, [secunda]ta
 and hee will comfort thy hart; Speake him faire, and hee will kisse tuas.
 thee kindly; like him onely, & he will loue thee euer. He never is His tu mi-
 hasty, but hee repentes thereof presently, paying for euery vnkinde
 worde a sorrowfull hei ho. As he will be soone angry, so is hee
 straight pleased, & therfore was he fained to be little in being never
 long troubled with extremes. But there is a certaine madnesse
 which men call loue, the same prouing so great fondnesse, as euery
 frowne of a misstrisfe makes some melancholy a quarter after, and to
 match that, is foolish dotage set, both so hot passions for a while, as
 they proue in the end to be loues greatest enimy, euen pestilent
 Ielosy. The one will die if hee hath not his longing; as for the other
 (for that hee is more craftie), hee hath ³many subtil meanes to obtaine his desire; yet both of them are so far from reason, as they
 hurt themselfes willingly. Nowe, to iudge howe kind they will be

[^{3 sig. F 2,}
 back.
 Catch word
 man]

to others, that be so crabbed to themselues, Robin leaues that to common reason. Yet because these two extreames, namely, mad fondnesse and dottage, are the onely meanes to helpe Ielofy, I will bee bould a little to touch them.

The extraordinary conceipt of obtained curtify, moues such a liking in the ouer passionate louer, as all his fences are onely tied to one obiect, & his whol hart dedicated to that saint, the sole mistrisse of his hart. As the extremity which tormentes him, is eased with nought except what comes from her kindnesse, so his mad fittes, once crossed with discourtesie, breed that vncurable melancholy, which deadly grife and vntimely death do followe. But both of them being perchance stroken with the selfe same arrowe, shot from the vmpartiall blind boy his bowe, are rauished with the delight they conceiue the one from the other, their thoughtes beeing heauenly, because true to each other, and their true loue vowed to eternity, manifested by no small fauours. Which happily euery day more and more encreasing frendship, remaines to both with wifhed contentment, vntill vnhappily, Ielofy (the professed enimye to louers prosperty) picketh a quarrell with one or both, by false vnconstancy. Then beginnes our hot loue to turne to burning coles, prouing such

[I] meane
the [de]ath
of hyr [spir]it
or of hir
[lo]ue.

[P]linguis
af[m]or
nimium[u]lue
patens, [in]
tadia
no[b]jis
ve[t]titur, [et]
stomacho
[d]ulcis vt
esc[ca],
nocet.

[I sig. F 3]

fondnesse, as wee suspecete our owne shadowes. Wee gorge our felues so vnreasonly with the delight of our saintes beautie, as wee cast vppe the hope of their faithfullnesse. We wil make them saintes, and thinke them diuellis, louing them so entirely, as our ouer much makes them vnhappy. Wee doe set them vp in vndecent brauery, and set them out with foolish praises ; yet, should any strangers (though of the familiars forte) seeme to sue to them,—nay, I may truely say, speake to them, it may bee the better for the men, but bee assured it shall bee the worse for the women. And now comes in dissimulation, by which we most practise to vse them kindly, whome wee hate deadly ; to speake them faire to their faces, whome wee curse behind their backs,¹ and to feede them with dainties, whom wee could wish poisoned. After the selfe same manner fare our wiues : they haue a kinde dinner and a crabbed supper, sweete meate with fower fawce, and a pleasaunt drinke with a poisoned potion ; so fonde extreames falling one on the others backe, as in a moment wee will vse them like Goddisses (if we doe not confess vnto them, they are no lesse

vnto vs), and no otherwise then diuels, swering now we hate them most deadly, whome euen now wee protested to loue most diuinely; suche monstrous vncertainty dooth this fondnesse nourish. Neither shall these trickes be extraordinary once in seauen yeares, but I would Robin could not avow that he hath seene them perfourmed on[c]e euery day in many places. Well, I will leauue them to their amendes, and touche as briefly the dotor.

O facies &
oculos na[ta]
tenere
me[os]

Who, after a little pampering (hauing perchance had his liberty in good pasture for halfe a yeare, without exercise), doth grow so frolickie, as he thinkes himself as youthfull as the yongest nagge, though he hath as many diseases as a iade can haue. In this brauery hee must bee furnished with a gay faddell, and none vnder a ladye maye serue his tourne; I meane, while his prouender prickes, he wilbe so lusty, as hee thinkes no woman too yong for him. In which vaine, beeing thus couragious, hee spendes franckly, and fettes himselfe foorth in the brauest manner, so that by his hope, *quid non aurum?* he will hap vpon so vnequall a match (by practise prooued), as after one nights iourney, he begins to be iadishly tired, euery day after growing mistrustfull. So that as his monstrous desire hath bene the meane to ioyne himselfe with suche inequallity, so shall his knowne cold courage and her youthfull yeares be a line to leade him to Ielosy, Whose persuasions as yet haue taken such desired effect, as at this time, where loue seekes to builde his kingdome, this his enimy (I meane Ielosy) neuer surceaseth from armes vn till he hath loue out by the eares, being still accompanied with like bats, & alwaies followed by vnhappy discontentment. His prosperity, generally allowed off in mens conceits, is greedely followed by their vncertain hartes, which loue nothinge that ^{is} eternall, nor like of any ^[t sig. F 3, back] loue but what wil alter dayly. And because I haue entred so farre into the gouvernement of Ielosy, I will presume to wade a little further into his kingdome.

In the countrey of Euery-place he raigneth, a ruler as pernitious as mighty, and more mighty then either vertuous or peaceable. As his kingdome is large, so his subiectes are many, his land beeing inhabited by people no lesse vnruefully then himselfe, and his right mainetained by make-bates that neuer are satissified, vntill their owne bloud hath raunsomed the delight of their desired death. Manye are

his aduersaries, and more his frendes, every disposition drawne to follow his humours, and desirous of his entertainement, by reason his actions seeme pleasing, and his cause righte and profitable. His regimente is well strengthned by force of men, hauing stonge holdes, seeming no leſſe delightfull in show, though by experience it prooues most fruitleſſe and barren. His chiefeſt city and ſeat of pleasure (accompted of his ſubiectes the feconde Parradife) ſtandes on the top of a high hill, called Miftruſtfullneſſe, at foote whereof runneth the ſwift riuier Vnconſtantcy, hauinge this eſſeſte in operation, that whoſoeuer inbathe themſelues therein, finde continuall altera‐tions in their harts before fetled, and now tormented with variable thoughts. In this ſtreame are manye sandy shallowes, and as many daungerous holes, both continually vſed and frequented vnto, as well by the inhabitantes of that citie, as alſo by all ſuch who chaunce to trauell that way. This citie hath his name 'Light of loue' maine‐tained by elders, whoe are eleceted, not for their wealth and wit, as in other countries, but for their envy and foolishneſſe. Their common trafficke is Exchaunge of Loue; and their profites, Disquietneſſe and Hate. The fruite that delighte[t]h their appetites, is Faith-leſſe Fancies; and the meates they feede on, Care & Vnreſt. The ſportes they ioy in, are continuall brawles, and the walkes they take pleasure in watching, and hope of finding. All their triumphes are Controuerſies in law, and all their turnies, for broken pates, with faggot ſtickes; their eaſt day is repentaunce, and Death their Saboath.

[leaf F 4]

¹This citie bearing the chiefe fwaie for vnrulineſſe, hath ſo diſperſed her inhabitaunce into the other partes of the cuntrey, as, for the moſt part, there is neuer a cottage in Ielofyes common wealth, but harbours iourney men as bad as their maifters in condition. His houldes and caſtels are both ſtronge and many, being fortified with deepe caſtraelinges, and furnished with all kindes of ingions fit for warre. Theire artillery for defence, ſo wel placed on the battlements of their towers, as they wonderfully and daungerouſlye annoye their ennemy. Curses and Banninges are the leaſt ſhot they carry, and a thouſande bitter wordes will do no more then charge one of them. The naſtres of theſe people are variable, and they, beinge for the moſt parte falſe harted, are likewiſe desirous ſtill of new frendes. The enterteine‐ment they will giue ſtrangers is verye good, but the viſage of their

frendes and familiars, especially of their wiues (as you haue hard already), is generally too too bad. They, altogether rejecting reason, performe rashly what so euer they thinke, and effecte diuelishly what so euer they practife. Their wills are their lawe, and suspecte their iudge, their judgments being as lawleſſe as their lawe is wanting reason and discretion. They bandy honesty as a tennis-ball, and play with good report, as a childe doth with an apple,—the one not being in quiet vntill it bee eaten, & the other neuer satisfied vntill their good hope be quite extinguished. The busy Ape comes not to ſo many fhowde turnes by his vnhappye trickes, as they come vnto mischiefe by their troubleſome diſpoſitions; nor doth he deserue ſo much the whip to keepe him in awe, as they merrit the halter for bringing ſo many vnto misery. For if the law rewards him with a halfe penny corde, that doth rob a ſtranger of thirteene pence halfe penny, I knowe no reaſon howe they can bee accompted leſſe then theeues, that either robbe their neighbours, or ſpoile themſelues of their good names. He that killes himſelf, ſhalbe buried by the law in the commons; and why ſhoule not he be intoombed vnder the gallowes, that not onelye cuttes his owne throate, haſting thereby to the diuell, but cuts his wiues alſo, toling her thither for company?

¹ *Ah, ſoueraigne loue, whose ſweetneſſe ſalues the ſowre,*

[¹ leaf F 4,
back]

And cures the woundes of every dying hart :

Thou kilſt by kindneſſe, if thou kilſt ; No loure

Ads greater grieſe to them that feele thy ſmarke.

Thou countes it paine enough, by prooſe to finde,

How two kind hartes may fast remaine in one.

Thy captiue bounds make but a conſtant mind,

And all thy warre is for long Peace alone.

Thou ties the mind, and lets their handes goe free :

Thou woundes the hart, and neuer hurtes the ſkinne :

Thy viſtory is, loue for loue to ſee :

Thy greateſt conqueſt, where there is leaſt finne.

Ah, ſweeteſt loue, thou wounds to cure for aye,

Whose ſharpe ſhort-night² procures a ſweete long-day.

[² orig.
ſhor-night]

Such is loues enuy, and himſelfe no worse an ennemy ; hee fightes ſtrongly, but to free euerlaſtingly ; he tormentes happily, and cheereth

frowardly ; and both his smiles & frownes are so equally tempered, as his pleasing mixture makes a perfect medley, which yeelds most melodious constancy. One loue and one life shall knit so perfect a knott of amity, as one death shall ende both their ioyes and miseries. Her loue shalbe his life, and his life her loue, shee shall endure no torment without his torture, nor shall he suffer any extreamity without her agony. His sickenesse shalbe her sorrow, and her grieve worse then his deathes wound. Their care shalbe to encrease each-others hartes-ease ; and their strifes, which of them shall exceede the one the other in courtesie. Their dalliaunce shall bee rewarded with darlings, whose sweete fauoured faces shal be continuall pledges of their faithfull kindnesse. The daughters shalbee like to their fathers, and the sonnes haue the countenances of their mothers. Their encrease shalbe multiplied, their substance doubled and trebled, till it come to abundance, living so longe as three folde gene²rations shall make ioyfull great grand-mothers, and degrees of honour make happy posterities. They shall adde so great a blessing to their store, as time shall not take away the memory of them, nor fame suffer their antiquite euer to die. A woor[1]d shall ende with their honour, neither shall that world decay vntill their dignity be registred in the true cronicles of eternity.

Thus shall lous followers be thrise happy, and thus Robin goodfellowes well-willers, in imitating his care, bee manifolde blessed. They shall haue their hartes desire, and I
 my wishe, which I pray may happen to
 both our contentmentes ; and
 fo, farewell.

¹ A good deal of the Latin side-notes comes from Ovid's *Amores*, book 3, elegy 4.—W. C.

¹ To the Gentlewomen and others of England.{¹ sig. G
back}

Ourtious and louely Dames, some, to winne your fauour,
 prouid suche costly giftes as may beſeme your accept-
 ance; and others, ſo rare deuifes as a yeares trauell hath
 purchased; but Tell troth, though as feruiceable as they
 which are moft paſſionate, and as amorous as who excedeſ in
 affection, hath only bought for you a dramme of wit, amounting to
 fower pennye charges to paſſe for a new-yeareſ gift. The dedication
 whereof, I haue rather ſubieeted to your curteſie, then to mens
 patrocinie; for that your ſelues, being of the pureſt mettall, and
 hauing your hartes framed of the kindeſt moule, will be both more
 ready to defend our good meaniſgs, and willing to hinder that
 hagges proceedingſ, your wiſs will be leaſt followed, and therefore
 your wiſs muſt be moſt viſed; wherby you, whose ſweete flowing
 tounges charme more then the Orphean muſicke, muſt ſtraine your
 melodiouſ notes to that heigh[t], as by your ſingularitiſ you may make
 Ielofie afhaſmed, & by ſolemme vowes, breake the necke of uſpition.
 You muſt diſwade with wordes, and perfwade by modeſt behauoir,
 confounding by wit, and confirming with diſcretiōn; Following
 Robins ruleſ to preuent the diuellſ practiſe, and making much of
 loue, to withstand Ielofies councell. And for that Tell troth tellſ the
 truthe, which by triall you muſt proue, vſe Robins ſalue to heale your
 ſore, and performe his wiſ to inioy your weale, whereby your con-
 firmation may approue his cuſtome, and allowe my perſumption in a
² greater matter. Robin hath here but onely touched that generall
 knowne enimie to a quiet life; but hee meaneſ, by your further
 fauourable protection, ſhortly to arme you againſt many pettie
 aduerſaries, which worke againſt loues welfare. If, in the meane
 time, your good reportes knocke downe the buſie carppers, it ſhall bee
 a ſufficient ſpurre to make both Robins wit and my pen to triumph
 in ſpite of them, which ſhall, by wading further to anger them, light
 into that vaine which will better content you. Vntill which time
 (because I would not be tedious) I will leaue you, ſubmitting the
 wiſh of your welfare to the pleaſure of your owne wiſs.

[² leaf G 2;
 the back of
 this leaf is
 blank.]

Yours, as he hath euer beene,

Tell troth.

[Mr H. C. Levander has kindly identified the side-notes of *Tell-Troth* by means of his Ovid Index, and copied them out as follows :—

- Quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
 Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.—Ovid. III. Am. IV. 41.
 Indignere licet ; juvat inconcessa voluptas
 Sola placet, Timeo, dicere si qua potest.—III. Am. IV. 31.
 Quicquid servatur, cupimus magis ; ipsaque furem
 Cura vocat : pauci, quod sinit alter, amant.—III. Am. IV. 25.
 Ferreus est, nimiumque suo favet ille dolori,
 Cui petitum victa palma cruenta rea.—II. Am. V. 11.
 Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.—Art. Am. I. 442.
 Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
 Testa diu.—Horace, Epist. I. ii. 69.
 [...] ex malis eligere minima oportere . . . Cic. de Off. III. i. 3.]
 * Obsequium tigresque domat *timidosque* leones.
 Ov. Art. Am. II. 183.
 Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus.
 Franges, si vires experiare tuas.—Art. Am. II. 179.
 Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas ;
 Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit.—III. Am. IV. 7.
 Si sapis, indulge dominae ; vultusque severos
 Exue.—III. Am. IV. 43.
 Centum fronte oculos, centum cervice gerebat
 Argus : et hos unus saepe fefellit Amor.—III. Am. IV. 19.
 Quod licet, ingratum est ; quod non licet, acrius urit :
 II. Am. XIX. 3.
 Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.—III. Am. IV. 17.
 Cui peccare licet, peccat minus : ipsa potestas
 Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.—III. Am. IV. 9.
 O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem !
 Me miserum ! quare tam bona causa mea est ?—II. Am. V. 7.
 Per Venerem juro, puerique volatilis arcus,
 Me non admissi criminis esse reum.—II. Am. VII. 27.
 Haec tibi *sunt* mecum, mihi *sunt* communia tecum :
 In bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit ?—II. Am. V. 31.
 Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis *amica* ;
 Perfer, et obdura ; postmodum mitis erit.—Art. Am. II. 177.
 Desine (crede mihi) vitia irritare vetando ;
 Obsequio *vincas* aptius *ipse* tuo.—III. Am. IV. 11.
 En ego confiteor ; tua sum nova praeda, Cupido :
 Porrigimus victimas ad tua *vincula* manus.—I. Am. II. 19.
 Blanditiae comites tibi erunt, *Terrorque*, *Furorque*,
 Assidue partes turba secuta tuas.—I. Am. II. 35.
 His tu militibus superas hominesque Deosque.—I. Am. II. 37.
 Nil opus est bello : pacem veniamque rogamus.—I. Am. II. 21.
 Pinguis amor, nimiumque patens, in taedia nobis
 Vertitur ; et stomacho, dulcis ut esca, nocet.—II. Am. XIX. 25.
 O facies oculos nata tenere meos !—II. Am. XVII. 12.
 Non mihi mille placent : non sum desultor Amoris :
 Tu mihi (si qui fides) cura perennis eris.
 Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi filia Sororum,
 Vivere contingat ; teque dolente mori.—I. Am. III. 15.]

* There are several various readings of the words in Italics.

[THE

PASSIONATE MORRICE,

A SEQUEL TO

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT, 1593.

By A.]



To the Gentlewomen and others
of *England*.



Nee more (most beautiful damsels) I am bold to presume of your wonted fauour, thereby being lead to a performance of a vowed duetie: where a kinde zeale bindeth to offer the acceptance of a seruiceable good will, there a carefull feare that forewarneth to incurre the hazard of offence, maketh the hart to stagger betweene hope and despaire; hoping through the kindenes of your gentle dispositions, to obtaine a defence against iniurious cauillers, and fearing by an ouer-bolde presumption, to offer offence to the affable sweetenes of your soueraigne curtefie. But seeing my desire to bee possessed of the better cordiall, makes me hart-strong to suppe of that potion which is likest to lengthen my welfare, the same being an assured confidence of your continual carefulness, in shrowding with your affection the slender substance of my humorous Morrice.

It is not long since, for *Tel-troths* Newyeeres-gift, I presented vnto your liking *Robin good-fellow* his newes, with his inuectiue against Loues most iniurious enemie, Ieloufie; which, though it was a token to gratifie the day, yet, if with indifferent iudgement, the matter therein contained be considered of, I doubt not, though it was a New-yeeres day toy, it may proue a many yeeres helpe to hinder that hagges enterprises. The worke tooke his title according to the time of his creation¹; but shall *Robins* prescript²ions be followed? the patients maladie shall continually finde it a gifte to signifie the ^[1 orig. creation]
³good beginning, and prosperous proceeding of many new yeeres vnto them. But now to send *Tell-troth* packing, *Honestie* hath thrust himselfe into your seruice, who, though at the first sight he may seeme a crabbed companion, yet let me beseech you to stay your

<sup>[2 pt-orig.
pr.]</sup>
<sup>[3 sig. A 2,
back]</sup>

The Epistle.

cenfure til you haue throughly tryed what is in him ; and if then he shewes not himselfe a diligent pleaser of your immortal vertues, memorize in the Cronicles of Disdaine the fame of that runnagate simplicitie, and let me, for his faulte, be banished from your good thoughts to euerlasting ignominie.

I was rather desirous to trauel altogether inuifible, then to haue had a title which might gaine light to the vnderstanding of me your vnworthie profeffed Author ; but since the higher powers denie me that priuiledge, I am content to subiect my felf to the opinions of courteous dispositions ; beseeching you to beare with my vaine, for that the vanitie of this age regardes no other ; nor would any be content to heare of faultes, vnleffe they be tolde them in meriment. I protest there is nothing scandalous therein, nor which is ment to offer iniury to any ; onely my purpose is, that if you should know any like vnto any of those in disposition, that either you forewarne them those monstrous injurious vices, or accompt of them as pestilent foolish wretches. To shun tediousnes, I commit my intention to your misticall consideration, my woorke to your courteous protection,

my felfe to your fauourable opinions, and your
sacred felues to the beauens
tuition.

*Yours in seruice and affection
most loyall, A.*



**THE PASSIONATE
Morrice.**

[¹ orig.
PASSOIN-
ATE]

HN the moneth of *March*, a time as fit for wooing, as *May* is pleasant to sporte in, *Honestie* trauelling, as his custome is, to search such corners as good fellowship haunteth, it was my hap, comming into *Hogfden*, to light vpon a house, wherein were met such a troupe of louers, as had not the hall been wondrous bigge, a multitude should haue been forced to stand without dores. Yet, though the roume was so spatioues, as an armie might haue lodged therein without pesterment, notwithstanding it was so well filled at this instant, as all the place *Honestie* could get amongst them was, to sit on the rafters on the top of the house, which fittid best my humour, that desires rather to see then to be seene. There, seated in my Maiestie (as ready to heare newes, as the pickthanke is forward to tell newes), I might easely perceave my louers mated, as if they ment to make Marche birds, euery man hauing his sweete hart, and euery couple their corner. There were of all sortes, and in many manners sorted,—some batchelers sewed to widdowes, others to maides; widdowers likewise wooed some maides, and othersome, widdowes; there was age and youth coupled together, equalitie of yeares courting each other, and diuersty of dispositions, arguing to make a sympathie.

² Amongst them I lent my eares first to a couple that had chosen forth the most secret corner in the house, which were not worst fitted for yeares; for it was a youth of three and twentie, that had matched himselfe with a maide of eighteene; hee, holding her vpon his knee, with his right hand clasping hers, & his left about her middle, made many proffers to win her fauour, and breathed many sighes to shew his loue; he vowed constancie with protestations, and confirmed with

[² sig. B,
back]

othes the pledge of his loyaltie; he shewed her how long he had loued her before he durst tel her of his affection, how many iournies he had made with losse of labour, and how many complaintes to the God of Loue, not finding any remedie. Hee made her priuie to the many houres he had at fundrie times spent in watching to haue a fight of her, shewing vnto her how ioyfull he were, had he, perchance, but seene any creature belonging to her fathers house, yea, were it but the little dog that turned the spit. ‘Many times (quoth he) haue I lookt vp to the windowe, imagining I haue seene thy picture engrauen in the glasse, when, with long gafing to viewe the true portraiture thereof, I haue at last recalled my selfe, by letting my soule see how mine eyes were deceiued, in expecting that true forme from the glasse, which was onely pictured in my heart. Then would I sorrowe to my selfe, and power forth such passions into the ayre, as my heart, being ouer loaded with the extremitie they would force, would constraine me to sit downe, ending my speeche with such fighes, as my breathed sorrowe would no lesse darken the ayre, then a mistie fogge doth obscure the skie. But at last, comming to my selfe, I would returne home, locking vp my selfe within my lodging, a close prisoner by the commandement of loue; where, to passe away the time, I would write passionate lines, amorous ditties, pleasing fancies, pleasant ronddelaines, and dolefull drerelayes. Now would I thinke to winne thee by letters; anon I thought it better to pen speeches; but fuddainely, both misliking mee, I would throwe ^{I' sig. B 2]} my selfe vpon the bed, so long thinking which way to obtaine thee, as in the end I should fall into a slumber. Yet, amidst my rest, my thoughtes concerning thee were restles; For then should I dreame sometymes thou spakeft me faire, repaying my kindenes with sweete kisises, granting my requestes, and forward to doe my will; but awaking from forth that soueraigne elusion, looking to finde thee, I should feele the bed-poastes, that hard hap, turning my glad heart to a new bread sorrow, which was the more painefull, by how much my dreame was pleasing; at another time, I should thinke, that suing to thee for fauour, thou wouldest bestowe frownes, & profering my seruice, thou wouldest offer skornes. If I fighed, thou wouldest smile, laughing at my teares, and ioying at my grieve, requiting euery kinde demande with so cruell answers, as if thy bitter words could not force

me to leaue my suite, thy skornefull farewels should frustrate my wil ; offering to touch thine hand, mee thought thou profereds[t] thy foote, and stouping to catch that, being glad of any thing, thou wouldest in a rage fling from me, and leaue the doore barred against me. There should I sit till my teeth chattered in my head, and my heart aked in my bellie ; then should I shake for colde, and sigh for sorrowe ; when, thinking to knock my legges against the ground to get heate, I should kick al the cloathes off me, being in the end constrained to awake through colde. At what time that colde fare would better content me, then the former flattering cheare did please me, being as glad it was false, as I would haue been glad if the other had been true. Many like to these did I endure before my acquaintance with thee, not knowing any meanes how to obtaine the same of thee, vntill happily finding thee in a sommers euening at the dore, I presumed to enter parlie with thee, offering my selfe your seruant, which had been a tweluemoneth your sworne subiect, doubting of your patience, though you seeme to be a patterne of pittie. How, and after what order I haue since that time besought your fauour, your selfe shall ¹ be my iudge, for I list not to rehearse my dayly shifstes to [^{1 sig. B 2,} back] shewe my zeale, my manyfolde conclusions to obtaine your companie, my giftes to woole the seruants, and my presents to gaine your good will. But to be briefe, thereby to come to that I like best, one whole yeare I loued thee before thou knewest me, & three more are passed since first I spake to thee ; yet then was I as neare as now I am, and now as farre off as I was then. Say, therefore, sweete, since to stay longer yeelds but little comfort, shall my suite now end with the verdit, You loue me ?'

To which long preamble, shut vp with so whot a conclusion, she no lesse prepared herselfe to answere him, then Frier *Tuck* vsed ceremonies before he song mattens. She cast her eyes vp to Heauen, as if she had been making her praiers to loue, sighing so bitterly, as I thought hir placket lace would haue broken ; then to the matter thus she answered : ' Alas, gentle sir, I must confesse I haue found you kinde, and you haue been at a great deale more cost then I could wish you had ; your suite hath been long, and my kindenes not much, nor doe I hope you expect more at my hands then you haue had, before my friends haue granted their good will. Maidens are modest, and

must not bee prodigall of their courtesie; children are bound, and cannot consent without their parents counsell; pardon mee, therefore, I pray you, if I say I loue you not, fince my father knowes you not; and thinke not much if I desire you to leaue to loue mee, vntill my mother giue me leaue to like of you. At which time, assure your selfe I will bee as ready to performe your will, as they shall be forward to wish me that good; and thus, in the meane time, I hope you will rest satissified.' This was a shroade bone for my passionate youth to gnawe on, that being so strucken on the head as his heart aked therewith, thought to ease his sorrowe with this replie: 'Ah, my sweetest sweete (quoth hee), Thinke not on thy fathers counsel, seeing a greater friend craueth his deserfe, nor let me rest their leasure without pitie, that hath thus long remained

[¹ sig. B 3] constant vnto ¹thee. I loue thee not² for thy freendes sake, though I loue them for thy sake; nor doe thou lothe me for their pleasure that liues but at thy pleasure. But, sweete and soueraigne of my hart, as thy thoughts be not tied to their wils, so let not thy loue be linked so fast to their liking, as their mislike shoulde end my life by remouing thy loue. Say, my goddesse—' and therewithall, as he was proceeding, she cut off the rest with this short answere: 'I beseech you, sir, to leaue off your courting, vnlesse you entend some other conclusion then as yet I can gather; for, of my faith, loue you I wil not, nor consent; I dare not, without my freends giue their consents first;' and thereupon she thrusted through the throng, and poasted out of doores, leauing my passionate louer to say his pater noster alone; where we will leaue them.

What I thought I will tell you, and I hope you will not doubt of the matter, for that *Honefie* speakes it. One yeeres loue without acquaintance, and three yeeres suite to be neuer the neerer; either he was a bad lawyer, or she a monstrous vniuft iudge; but be it, both a passionate Asse, and a peeuiish wench were well met. But marke his folly and her cunning; he, building Castles in the aire, and setting trappes in the Sunne to catch the shadowe of a coye queane, was pleased by her, with wagging his bawble and ringing his bell, while she pickt his pocket and cut his purffe. A proper peece of seruice of a passionate Souldier, and a prettie sleight of a flattering Slut; I would we had more of them, nay, why wish I that, fince the worlde

is too full of such alreadie? Yet, of my honesty, she was as fitte a match for such a foole as might be found in the worlde. A great deale of fond fancie repaid with a sharpe shorte deniall, and three yeeres affection rewarded with an ounce of flatterie, mingled with a pound of discurtesie, a good cordiall to comfort so kinde a hart. Oh, the subtily of the diuell, that vnder the shadow of obedience couers the craft of cosonage. It is hotte loue that buildes on freendes liking, and pestilent affection that relies rather on the mothers¹ loue,
[x sig. B 3, back]
then on the Louers loyaltie. Such as stands so curiously on their Parents good will, hauing dealt so craftly without their consent, are worthie, by *Honefies* doome, to stand in a Cage, vntill either their freends good will be got, or her sweet harts licence obtained for her deliuerie. And this is too good, for that the kinde Asse wil too too soone release her; I thinke this punishment would be worse welcome vnto her, namely, that she be bound from mariage, so long as she hath kept him without his answere, which will so pinche her prodigall desire, as either she will forswaire honefie, or neuer commit the like knauerie. Oh, there is a companie of minions which delight to haue many sutors, that they may bragge amongst their mates of their diuersitie of louers; they thinke it commendable to haue store of customers. But knewe they so much as I know, they were better to goe once in a fortnight to *Greenes* Cunnyberries, then to haue such resorte to haunt their companies.

Honefie honours the consent of Parents, but abhorres such loue as is built on their liking; if there be no remedie but that either they shall like, or thou wilt not loue, let him haue thy Fathers good will before he obtaines thy countenance; for doubtles she that will entertaine louers, and repay their courting with kindenes, will care as little for her freends counsell, hapning on a mate she can fancie, as the horse wil for haye, that hath his manger full of prouender. And, what is the cause why so many stande so curiously on their freends consent? nought, forsooth, but the presumption of a double baite, that being sure of their countenance, they may be assured of an other dinner if their owne likes them not; or otherwife to haue a hole to hide a Fox in, for that her owne denne is not secret enough. If her Husband controllle her for any misdemeanour, or reprove her of any dishonest behauour, then on goes her pantopes, building the

[^z leaf B 4] reckoning of her honesty on her fathers countenance, so far presuming of his bounden duetie for the match making, as if he kept the keye of ¹ her huswiferie. Her long young vters large speeches, standing at defiance vnder the banner of her Fathers defence, and his house must be her Castell to keepe her from her Husband. This is the commoditie a man shall reap by such a match; and this is their meaning that would couer their rebellion with the cloak of obedience. Is not he wel preferred that is so well married? and how can he mend it? Marry, no way but this, that he which is mated with the like inconuenience, to learne more wit against the next time, striuing, in the meane time, to please both her and her freends, since he had so much reason to woo both her freends and her, to be bound to so bad a bargaine.

It is follie (quoth a wise man) to be sorrowful for things irrecoverable, and *Honestie* thinkes it madnes to repent for deeds done, whereof her selfe is culpable; can any man be so witles (especially in matter wherein wifedome is so much required) as to doe, and wish vndoone in a moment? yea, doubtles, *Honestie* knowes such, they being the hotte spurres of our age, that thinke euery day a twelue moneth vntill they be married; and after they are matched, euery houre seauen yeeres vntill they are parted. It was hotte loue that will be so foone colde, some of you will say; but I say, if it had been hot loue (as it was burning lust), it would not haue been so foone colde. For whereas the prouerb goes, that *hot loue wil be foone colde*, it is ment by such affection as wants matter therby to continue longer. For as that is the purest wood which yeelds the perfectest heat, and the purer it is, the sooner it wilbe it own destruction, leauing the fitters by without fire, vnles a fresh supply be as neede requires added,—so wil our hotte loue (whose kindled affection is come vnto it perfection, the hart being on such a blaze, as euery part of it is on a light flame,) decay (as reason and nature requireth), vnles new faggots of kindenes adde fresh matter for fiering, the supply thereof remouing all suspition of want of affection. How pure the loue is where there is so light a regarde of proffered kindenes, as ‘my Fathers will,’ or ‘my Mothers leauue’ must be a Spurre ²to my liking, let euery one judge that knowes loue.

[^z leaf B 4,
back]

But, in my opinion, as I confess that the duetie we owe to our

Parents may doo muche where the knowledge thereof bindes to obeye ; so must I confirme that loue is a duetie, himselfe binding to so great obedience, and tying with such strong conuiances, as he remoues all thoughts of lower dueties ; I, tearing al dueties lower, for that by commaundement those dueties must be reieected in respect of the louing duetie that a Hulband thall require. Now, how far my nice Minion was from knowing this duetie, her coye demeanour and cunning behauour hath manifested. Yet how happie was my youth at last to be rid of such a monster ! And monster may I tearme her, in respect of her lewde behauour ; for was it not much better that her inconstancie should haue beene knownen before he was fast linked vnto her, then it should haue beene found when it had been incurable ? Doubtles it was a good cause he had to double his orisons vnto loue, for so louingly preferuring him from so pestilent a prittie-bird,—I should haue said prickling-burre, or paulyry bauble.

But to come to my second couple, which were seated opposite to these in an other corner, being a lustle widdower that was courting a gallant wench, both of them being highly beholding to nature for her liberall skill in their making, which were thus placed : She was set down, ouerlooked by him standing before her, hauing one of his hands leaning on her lap, and the other resting on the wal, hauing therby (as I gesse) the more libertie to vse his pleasure, in bestowing kinde kisses and louing fauours ; so he was seated, and thus he began to sue : ‘ Faire Maide (quoth he), I know my experience to be greater then your practise, for that I haue tried, rules me by reason ; hauing loued and liued with my loue, vntill by the fates I was bereaued of that fruit. so well liked I of my last losse, as my former good hap breeds an assured hope of the like good fortune, that being a helpe to further my will, and a meane to make a new choise ; which change, what good it shal yeeld, ¹ your selfe shall chal- [sig. C] lenge, whose good reporte hath bound me to commence my deserts, to receiue their censure by your doome. To boast what I am, were friuolous, for that your freends are alreadie priuie to my est: ; and to say how well I loue you, were booteles, for that women loue to trie ere they trust ; yet, vnles I should say more then I haue saide, I should seeme to say nothing ; though to say more then is spoken

already, were merely foolish. For thus stands the case: I haue made choise of you for my second wife, and haue already your frends good will; there restes therefore nothing but a confirmation of your duetie, in agreeing to that they haue confirmed: 'thus comming to a full point, he closed vp his period with a brace of smirking kis ses, which wrought with his Louer, as a strong pyll dooth with a sore sicke patient; namely, they forced her to answere him thus shrewdely: 'The assurance of your good fortune, Sir, hath made you highly behoden to her deitie, that dauncing in the morrice of good matches, you should be led by her to so good hap; but, belike, it was ouer good to continue long, either her kindenes being ouermatched with your vncoustantie, or your good happe ouer ruled by fortunes cruelty; They euer change, and lightly, neuer but for the worse; which the rather seemes so vnto me, by the sure knowledge I haue of your second choice, that is so far vnequall to your reported first match, as I know your liking would not remain long, or my misliking would come too too soone; because I am not able to follow what your first wife hath performed, and you will be vnwilling to beare with the wants your second choice must be enriched with. But, peraduenture, I mistake your meaning; for whereas I thinke you sue to haue me to your second wife, you seeke but to haue my good wil to liue with my frends; alas, good fir, my duetie (as you say) must not gainsay their pleasure, nor will I, for that matter; but with all my hart, if you haue their licence for your boord, haue my good will to obtaine your bed there also, for their houfe is at their owne commaundement.'

[^{¶ sig. C,}
back]

'Then doubt I not (replyed he) to ¹haue you for my bedfellow.' 'But that doubt I (answered she), for that I know the contrary.' 'Why dare you (quoth he) to disobay your Fathers commaundement?' 'No (sayd she), so it be for my commoditie.' 'It shall be both for your profite and preferment.' 'Make me to beleuee that (quoth she), and then, peraduenture, it may be a bargaine.' 'Why, woman (faide he), I deserue your better.' 'Take her (answered she), and I will not be matched to your inferiour.' 'Why, then, I see you do scant loue me?' 'I vse it not (quoth she), and yet I fweare I will mocke you, rather then marrie with you.' With which, being highly displeased, he bestowed three or foure crabbed tearmes, being liueries of his cholericke long young, and so departed.

A shame goe with him, thought *Honeſtie*, whatſoeuer ſhe thought, and with all ſuch Louers! louers, with a halter,—lubbers, I may better tearme them. What monſtrous matches are ſuch as are ſhufled vp after the ſelfe fame order! Suppose ſhe had beene fearefull, and durſt not to haue refiſted the receipt of what ſhe lothed; imagine ſhe had beene fooliſh, and could not haue iudged of affection? thiſke ſhe had beene forward, and would haue beene glad of any one? alas! poore wretch, I pittie the ſuppoſition; what ſhould I haue ſaid to the conſirmation? I know assuredly ſhe ſhould haue ſighed, whatſoeuer I had ſaide; and mourning ſhould haue been her companion, what ere had been my communication: he would haue daunſt with her portion, while ſhe had drooped through want of affection; he would haue loathed her company, for that ſhe was not a dayly commodity; her life ſhould haue been like the hacknies that are at euery mans commaundement for the hire, and her ioy as momentary as the florishing greene graffe in July. Pitifully ſhould ſhe haue liued, puniſhed by him without pitie: and this is my reaſon of the poſſibilitie; for that it is moft likely he loued her not, & how well any body vſe them they loue not, let them ſpeake that ſuſpect not. Now, that he loued her not, may be proued both by his kinde of wrong, careleſſeſye ſuing vnto her, peremptorily v^lſurping her Fathers [x sig. C 2] authoritie, which was a band to tye her to obedience, though a bad meane to obtaine her curteſie. For affection is not to be limitted, nor loue to be compelled; but, contrarily, hatred followes feare, and feare forerunnes miſlike; and how we loue thoſe we regarde not, iudge they that woo and obtaine not. But this cuſtome is too common and ouer cruell, namely, a wooing of freends, and a constraint of loue, I would not ſay compelling, but for feare it ſhould haue been taken for compelling. Were *Honeſtie* a Iuſtice, they ſhould either lye in the ſtockes a fortnight, or marry her I would match him with, which ſhould feeke a wife after this order. I thiſke, verily, he would rather ſtay his ſtint by the heeles, then be bound to the other inconuenience; and yet he could finde in his hart to binde another to the bad bargaine. This is charitiſe, yea, & neuer a whit of honeſtie, being fo farre from ciuilitiſe, as the Millers craft is from true dealing. Now, truely truly, to deale as we would be dealt with, is ſent to the hedge a beggiſe, and neighbourly loue is made a hacknie,

being so worne to the bones with seeking a good Maister, as his skinne will hang on the bush shortly.

I haue heard a reporte of a passing kinde man that complained of his wife at a Sessions for pissing a pot full, indging thereby she was dishonest; and that same man shortly after burying his wife, sued to a maide, after the manner aforesaid; he had obtained her freends good will, and were at a point for the Maidens loue; yet on a time she was troubled with the head-ake at his being with her, whereof he so misliked, as in the morning he went to the Phisitions to haue their opinions to what disease it coulde turne, and vpon their reporte left her. I am assured I haue erred in no point, vnlesse I haue mistooke the last, putting the Phisitions opinion in the roome of his owne bad meaning: it was no disease, indeede, that misliked or misled him, but it was of the Fathers purffe, not of the Daughters head; well, she was well prouided for in missing of him, and if he sped any thing the better, let him boast of it; but ¹Hone~~lie~~ can iudge no better of the remnant of his companions, then his action giues the verdict of him, which is as bad as may be.

[¹ sig. C 2,
back]

But to another that hapned on one that had the toothake, with whom he would not marry for feare the hollownesse of her tooth should corrupt her breath, and so annoye his colde stomack. It was colde indeede, and I would such stomacks might be heated with redde hotte gold, as cheerfull as scalding leade. Well, to a third: he liked her parents wel, for that they were honest & godly, and as well of the maiden, because she seemed modeft; to be bref, he could find no faulte in either of them, onely his feare was that the Daughter would be somewhat shrewish, for that she had a long nose, and thereupon gaue her ouer. If her nose had bee long enough, I think she might haue smelt a knaue, but I am assured she knewe a churle, and so let her claime him wheresoeuer she sees him. Yet one more of the same stampe, and so we will leaue them. This was a woer in graine, who had gone so far, as they were at next doore to be askt in the Church. The wedding apparel was bought, the day appointed, yea, and I may tel you, many of the gesse bid, only there was no assurance, for that he abhorred; but it fortuned that before the day there dyed a rich man that left a welthe widdow, to whom he made so secret loue, as he wonne her good will within a

fortnight after the death of his predeceſſour; well, notwithstanding, to ſave his counterfeiſt credit and preſerue his hypocriticall honeſtie, he reſorted dayly to his olde ſweete hart, with whom vpon ſome ſmal reaſon he fel at ods, viſing her ſo unkindly in ſpeeches, as he drew teareſ for ſorrow. Glad of this, though turning his earnest into ieft, he caſted her vnto him, in the preſence of many of her Fathers ſeruants; then ſwearing that if ſhe tooke him not about the necke & kiſſed him, he would neuer marry with her as long as he liued. Which the young Gentlewoman refuſed to doe, partly for that he had iniured her highly, but the rather leaſt ſuch fondneſs ſhould feeme immodestie to the ſeruants; vpon whose denial, in a great ¹ fume he [¹ sig. C 3] flung forth of the doores, and in a rage as if of ſpight, within one fortnight after he matcht with the widdowe aforesaid. But to tell you what a life the lead with him, were to hunt from the purpose; yet affuſe yourſelfe it was ſo bad, as the world iudged this maid neuer better bleſt then in not being beſtowed ne caſt away vpon him.

Such, and of the fame forte, are theſe money-woers, that ſue first to the Father, to ſave labour; for, ſpeeđe they will; and if they miſſe in one place, they knowe another where they will practife. And how can it be iudged otherwife, ſeeing their meaning in viſing that meane importes no leſſe? for, thiſke they, ‘if I haue the Fathers good will, the daughter will be eaſilie wonne; and if I miſſe of hiſ, I ſave that time and labour, in ſuing to the maide, beſides the giſtes I ſhould beſtowe.’ Ha, ha! I haue him by ſent: and what thiſke you of him? in faith, no otherwife then *Honeſtie* beleeuues. You ſmell a Foxe? I, and a ranke one too, whose breach is ſo stainde with this gilding matter, as it may eaſely bee iudged what muck hee loues. Alas! good hearts, that are coupled with ſueh bad mindes, this is loue; true; but what loue? couetous loue, hatefull diſſimulation, hypocriticall affection, and what not that is contrarie to the ſweete foueraigne loue, which ſues for kiſſes and not for coyne, which craues the heart & nothing elſe; for with it, al the hath is hiſ; and he that wil looke for more, I would he had a halter; and he ſhall not want it in hell, howſoeuer he ſpeedes here. Fie, fie! mariages, for the moſt part, are at this day ſo made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, ſo wil men ſel their children. He that bids moſt ſhal ſpeed ſoonerſt; & ſo he

hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so; & I wil assure you, loues common-wealth wil never florish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer. Out, alas! what loue is this? in faith, if

[¹ sig. C 3, back.] I ¹ might haue sped better in another place, come to notice after I haue bought your daughter, she shall pay for it, or I will make dice on her bones. A pittifull partenership, where there is no greater loue; and how can but one of them be vndone? He will vse her ill, because he loues her not; and shee cannot loue him for not vsing her well; for whome we feare we hate, and what then? Hee will practise her ende; she will wish his death; and while they liue together, it will be so full of heartbreakings through quarrels and contentions, as woe to them both, I, and to the third too, that was so forward to make so bad a matche. But, howsoeuer they two speede, I am assured shee will speede worse: as for hir husband, he will not want excuses to defend his knauerie; and hir Father must beleue him, because of hir former credit giuen vnto him; so that contented she must be, how discontented so euer she liues; and beare it she must, vntill her hart breake; which happie day must ende her miserie, and set my craftie wooer at libertie.

Thus much for my seconde corner: and now to my third couple, which were ciuilly feated on a benche together, they being, the one a batcheler, and the other a widdowe, which was wooed by him after this like order: 'It were follie, forseeth (quoth he), to vse circumstances, since you are so well acquainted with the like practize; but to leauue them and come to the matter, which is (as I thinke) the best meane to please vs both, you shall vnderstand that vpon the good reporte your honest life hath deserued, I haue conceiued so good liking of you, as I shoulde thinke my selfe happie if I shoulde speede no worrie.' 'I thanke you (answering her) for your good will; but surely, Sir, I thinke you haue deceiued your selfe. For, peraduenture, you imagine, or it hath been vntruely reported, that I am the woman, which indeede I am not; namely, ritche, for that my deceased husband made some shewe to the world; but if that bee your thought, I

assure you you are deceiued.' ' You mistake my meaning (replied hee), for it is no such matter ; I respect not so much your wealth, as [¹ leaf C 4] I doo your matronlike modeftie ; my felfe is young, and I haue a trade, and am, I thanke God, of my felfe able to maintaine a woman. But I doo rather desire to match with your like, then with a younger, for that you knowe better both what belongs to a man, as also to vſe thrifely what I get. And, moreouer, my felfe is not so young, but that I am meeter to match with a widdowe then to marrie with a maide, and would be most glad if it might be my good happe to speede with you.' ' I cannot tell (quoth he) what your good speede may be ; I knowe you not, and therefore I hope you will giue me leauē to enquire of you ; which done, I will send you your anſwere by ſuch a day ; in the meane time, I wiſh you well.'

I, mary, *Honeſtie*, & what then ? no marry theſe : forth the went to her broker, to will him to ſearch after his ſubſtance, vſing that manner which vſurers can beſt diſcloſe, which is their praćtiſe in putting forth their money. This was a paſſing commodity ; for what better then a ritche widdowe ? but that fooliſh enquirie ſpoyleſ all ; had ſhee thankt him heartily, desired farther libertie, and had made ſearch into his eſtate ſecreṭly, ſhee had ſhewed her felfe the wiſer ; but ſo bluntly to ſaie, ' giue mee leauē to enquire of you,' ſhewed as bad bringing vp as miſt bee poſſible. But, tut ! I like her the better, because ſhe could not diſemble ; for ſhe, alas ! did but followe the common trade, dooing with the ape but what ſhe had ſeen done before her. She had heard her husband iñſtruct his prentices to make a profit, and ſhe thought ſhe miſt trie the ſame for her own good. I would ſhee and others knewe what was good for them ; they would then rather reſpect the man then money. But this couetouſnes ſpoyleſ all, though ' I would I had more,' is too muſh in our mouthes ; for, followed ſhe not the greedie deſire of adding muck to muck, miſt ſhee not as well haue liued with this man, that had a trade as good, yea, muſh better then her husbands was, as ſhee did before with him ? ſhee had no children ; ſuppoſe ſhe had, they ² were [² leaf C 4, back] prouided for well ; and what greater charge woulde this haue brought ? he had a care to liue, or elſe hee would haue fought to loue without reſpect ; for who knowes not that ſhe is as able to ſatisfie a mans deſire that hath little, as ſhe that hath muſh,

[^a sig. D]

if we onely regarde pleasure? Take this on *Honesties* credit, that hee that buildes his loue on such reasoun, as hauing little, hee will chuse one that hath somewhat, wil proue a better match vnto thee, then him that brings mountaines. Beware when loue is vpholden with maintenance; if the heart remembers, 'I am thus much beholden vnto her, shee loued mee or else shee would neuer haue matcht with me; she made me a man, being before worse then nothing; how much better might she haue done, if she had not been led with affection,' and such like; It will also remember the duetie this kindenes requireth, euen like for like, least the worse crie shame of him. How happie should parents be, were this in their remembrance at their mariges making! how blessed should their children be, if the like practisef were vsed! and what a florishing commonwealth would that be, where equalitie of birth (which alwaies should bee regarded, specially on the mans fide) should bee linked to abundance, whereby the number of gentle beggers should be decreased, and the misgouvernement of wealth will be auoided. One man should not haue his cosers ful, and twentie want it that better deserue it. How many able men should we haue (if this were vsed) to serue and set forth men for the princes seruice, where now I am but one man, and I am bound but to my stint, to finde one mans charge, though I haue fие mens liuings. But no more! this is too ferious for *Honestie*, & I meruaile how I fell into this vaine, since I studied to bee pleasant. What, thinke you, did my widdowe after her search of enquirie, for you must thinke that the batcheler longed for his answere? Marry, though she was not a foxe in her speeches, yet shee proued no leffe in her dooing, for now shee kept her house as closely, as hee dooth his holde craftely. She mislikt of the man: for what cause, gesse you? ¹if you knew as much as I knowe, you would sweare, not for lack of honestie, or because he was vnthrifstie. But wil you knowe whie? he had not the hundreds lying by him, as the reporte went shee had left her, and therefore shee thought it needeles any one should lose so much labour, as to fulfill her promise in carrying his answere. Yet, if that were all, it were well; I, and it had been well for him (for the faying of shoo lether) if she would haue spoken with him at his comming to fetche it: But my widdowe would not be within, or else she was busie; and thus was his kindenes

requited. Now, fie of the diuell ! is this a meete reward for affection ? nay, suppose it be no more, the good will, was it well requited ? Me thinkes that if his dog had come, hee deserued better entertainement then to haue been beaten away ; and shee had dealt better if shee had sent himselfe away with a crabbed answere, then so vnmannerly to vse him by sleeuelles excuses. And well it were if shee had no more fellowes ; but out vpon them ! there are too many such, whose coye niceenes expresse their mischievous fodenes ; for, speake they will with any man that come, vnes a Herald fore runnes the fewtor.

In my opinion, and it shall bee grounded vpon reason, such widowes are worthie to fit while their breeches growe to their seates, as refuse to answer all commers of what degree soever ; and because I promist you reason, this shall be it. Who knowes not, that whosoeuer sues for the like match, winneth a thousand incombrances with his good speede ? for he that knowes not that care shal be mingled with his best contentment, shall fall into a pitte before he be ware of it. And who, were it not for his soules health, would imbrace such an inconuenience for a little commoditie ? I, and the best mariage is but a little commoditie, in respect of the continual carking that comes with it. If, then,—as who saies it is otherwise ?—a man makes so great suite for so small hearts ease (respecting the earthly pleasure), deserues not he a good countenance, or at least a welcome, that longs for so bad a bargaine ? In my iudgement,¹ and it shall iumpe with mine opinion, that woman is much more behoden to the man that would match with her, then to her parents that haue brought her vp ; for they did what ere they did, of duety, & this doth what might be vndone, of mere deuotion. Why, thinke the best you can, thinke for your felues : suppose one that hath nothing, comes to craue your loue : did he only respect your wealth, without his owne welfare (and hee that thinkes to haue welfare without dealing wel with you, he reckens without his hostesse, and shal finde a new bil of charges), had he not much better to hazfard the taking of a purse by the high way ? Yes, doubtles ; for were hee by that means brought vnto miserie, he might haue death at his cal, to rid him from extremitie ; but now being grieued vnceffantly, he may seeke for death, but meete with the diuell ; hope for an ende, but feele the want of it con-

[¹ sig. D.
back.]

[¹: sig. D 2]

tinually. Yet come we to one further point: imagine some men that bee ouer-unruly, desire to haue acceſſe into your compaſie: if you knowe them for ſuch compaſions, I would holde you vnewife to admit them into your preſence; but ſhall your hart but ſay, I ſuſpect without trial, you cannot out-runne the crime of want of deſcretion. It is beſt, therefore, you that feare ſuch reſorte, to harbour your felues, during the time of the heate of the market, in ſuch places as the countenances of your protectors ſhall preuent ſuſpect, and diſparage the praćtice of ſuch vndecent behauour; or otherwife, to appropriate vnto your houfes ſuch helpeſ as ſhall bee likely to foreſtall the like miſchiefe. That euery one may bee anſwered, is *Honeſties* meaning; for vnlleſ they bee, they haue not their due, nor doo you ſhewe your felues to be inriched with that curteſie which widdowes deſcretion dooth challenge. For, let me tell you, and ensure as many as knowe it not, that a man ſhall finde more pleaſure in lying in the campe, being dayly threatned with the bulletts of his enemie, then in lodging with a wife, vnlleſ his wiſdombe be the greater. And I knowe you looke for my reaſon: then for this cauſe, for that their vncouſtancie ¹ breeds more feare then the ſhot brings hurt; and their tender heart will craue more gouernement to content them, then the other will aſke forecast to preuent the danger they bring with them. For a ſteele coate refiſtes the harme of a muſket; but what garment ſhall out ſtand her threatning of the horne? That man amoungſt Souldiers is counted accuſt that is ſtrucken with a great ſhot; and that husband thriſe bleſt among married men, that is not continually wounded with ſome miſdeemeanor or other he ſhall eſpie in his wife; well, I ſay no more, because I am a batcheler; but *Honeſtie* muſt ſpeake the trueth, or shame will follow him.

It is wiſdombe to looke before lepping, but extreame follie to ſtand vpon nothing; hee or ſhee that makes many doubtes, ſhall neuer want care; and ſhe wil il rule a charge, that cannot charme a knaue. Speake the diuell faire, and he will be ſatiſfied; and what woman knowes not how to flatter? It is good to knowe vice, that we may ſhuſt that euill; and as good to trie the honeſtie of wooers, that you may not ſpeeđe the worse. You ſhall often finde a kings heart clad in a thredbare coate, and a ſenators wiſdombe harbored in a youthfull

head; vertue goes not by birth, nor discretion by yeares, for there are olde fooles and young councellers, counterfeit knaues & crabbed churles, the one being clad in a lambes skinne, and the other kept warme with Foxe surre. Nature makes, but fortune clothes; a ritch knaue therefore may march in the habit of a true meaning gentleman, when poore *Honestie* must goe as he is able, bee it in a mouldie cassock. I haue heard it credibly reported, that there was a ritch widdowe fell here in England, which had left her living enough to maintaine a younger brother; and vnto her did resorte such an one, as had not fildome flung out at a bootie, nor would haue cared much if it had been his father, so he had met him in a conuenient place. This young gentleman (yet not very young, for he was about fortie) came vnto this widdowe, to craue her good wil, vsing as speedie tearmes as he ¹desired quicke speede. Hee tolde her his name, so [¹ sig. D 2, back] well knowne throughout the countrie for a shifting liuer, as he spake no sooner then hee was well knowne vnto hir. Whome she vsed courteously, answering him after this order: 'I hope, gentle sir (quoth she), you will giue me leauue to answer you as speedely as you bluntly aske the question.' 'And with all my heart (replied hee), for that is my desire.' 'Then assure you thus much (said she), that if there were no more men in the world besides your selfe, I would not marrie with you.' 'A short and sower answere (quoth he); yet let mee assure you, that onely such an one (naming himselfe) will haue you,' and so tooke his leauue, departing in as good order as shee had in kinde manner vsed him. Shortly after, at a meeting with many of his companions, he craued their aide, finding them as forward to performe any thing hee shoulde require, as hee would wish. Vnto whome hee shewed his whole intention, the rather desiring their helpes, for that they had been partners with him in as great hazards; well agreed vpon the match, they rode towards the widdowes house, comming thither in the euening about supper-time, when it was very darke, whereby their companie coulde not bee descried. They knockte at the gate, and was answered by the porter, that being asked who was within, certified them according to his knowledge. Him they so hampered, as gagde hee was and bound, being laide forth of the way; which done, they passed further, entring the hall with their drawne swordes, where they found all the seruants at Supper. They

[^D sig. D 3] had no weapons neere them but bones, being vnmeete instrumeents to refist armed men ; and dogges, they were not to be wonne by such baites. Therefore, easilly one by one they were bound and laide on a heape ; the wooer in the meane time, with two of his mates, being in the Parlor with the widdowe that was garded with two futors, being Gentlemen of account in that Country, he vnmasked himselfe, for they had al visards, and tolde the widdow he was ¹ come for her ; at what time one of them grewe cholericke, and I thinke it was he that was likest to haue sped best, for he was placed on the benche neerest to her hart, and drew his poyniard, the best weapon he had at that instant, making as if he meant to darte the same ; but vpon better consideration had, he put vp his Dagger, and was contented to be bound with his fellowe. All of them being bound, they got *the* Widowe foorth, and bound her with a towel behinde one of them, hauing before their departure hid all the Saddles, and turned forth the Horses out from *the* house. Ouer a long plaine they rode, & so through a wood, where, being out of greateſt danger, he himselfe, the wooer, got vp before the widdowe, entreating her to confider of their estates, not ſo much he himselfe respecting his own weale, as he regarded his freends welfare, whome he had drawen into that desperate action. But it was all in vaine, for agree ſhe would not ; ſhe ſware rather to dye then to conſent, which ſeemed little to remedie his affection. Wel, in ſhort time they were come to a place prepared for *the* nonce, where they found a good fire with a Parſon, and other good company assembled together about the fame matter. It was a wonderfull rainie euening, ſo that all of them were throughly wet ; but there ſhe wanted nothing ſhe could deſire, nor ſpared he kinde words to winne her good will, which was ſo long in graunting, as before the obtaining of it, Hue and cry was followed into that Towne. Whereof he, hauing notice, came to her with his laſt hope, willing her, that as ſhe was a woman, either then or neuer to conſent to the ſauing of all their liues. When ſhe, ſeeing no remedy, but either ſhe muſt relent, or they repente it : ‘will you (quoth ſhe) be good to my boy *Tom* ?’ for ſhe had one onely childe called *Thomas*. ‘To ſay I would (replied he), in this extremitie, might be ſaide to be but flatterie, but affiue thy ſelfe I will, and much better then I will boast on ;’ vpon which agreement, they were foorthwith maried.

Soone after he called her aside, and tolde her she was now his wife, whose credit was her good regarde : ' we ¹ shal, I know (quoth he), be brought for this before *the counsel*, at which time, valesse you vse *the* matter thus cunninglye, as to affirme this was your owne practise, to shewe your loue, and shun a bad reporte, we shall, notwithstanding, smart for it.' Which she promised to doo, and did indeede no lesse, all them being shortly after apprehended, and brought vp to answere it at the counsell Table, where she tolde so good a tale for him and his fellowes to the effect aforesaide, as the faulfe was remitted, and they discharged. Now, that you may vnderstand how well he requited this her kindnes, she liued with him a long time, and yet lesse then a dozen yeeres ; and dying, left this good reporte of his vsage towards her : namely, that neuer woman liued with a more kinde man then she had found him, with other such probable tokens or the certainty thereof, as a Countrie can witnes the same. Him selfe liued not long after her, at his death leauing her sonne *Thomas* fие hundred pounds by the yeere, ouer and aboue his own Fathers liuing, which he himselfe had purchased by his good husbandrie.

What say you to this vnthrifte ? was not she put to a shrewde triall ? she was, and it proued passing wel. Wherfore, then, should yonger brothers be reieected, or why they that haue little, be vnregarded ? surely, because the hart is couetous and mistrustfull, and womens mindes are aspiring, being neuer contented. They so much thirste after preferment, as often they ouer-leape amendment, and iumpe iust into a worser predicament.

Many looke so long for abundance of mucke, as ² they fall into [2 orig. as as] a quagnire of miseries, hauing siluer to looke on, though wanting mony to supply many wants ; hauing a faire shewe and a shrewde keeper, one that hath more then enough, & yet will not part with any thing : *Honefifie* knowes many of these, and they feele more then I can tell you. Who goes, for the most parte, worse shod then the Shoomakers childe ? and who hath lesse money in her pursse, then she whose Husband hath most in his chest ? ³ But, for that I am some- [3 leaf D 4] what striaied out of my way, I will return to my first widdowe before my shooes be quite worne : My forenamed Bacheler, that neither by himselfe or his freends could speake with her to know her answer, deuided this conclusion, to send her a Letter by a freend, not so much

for the matter there in set downe, as that *that* might be a meane to entice her to be spoken with, which, indeede, proued to some purpose. For to the Messenger she came, and after notice giuen from whome the Letter was sent: ‘ gods Lord (quoth she), did not my freend giue him his answere ? ’ ‘ No,’ replied the Messenger ; ‘ for he craues no more by this Letter.’ ‘ Surely (quoth she), I thanke him for his good will, but I am not minded that way.’ ‘ What way ? (replied he), not to marry ? ’ ‘ Yes,’ faide she, ‘ but not with one so yong.’ Now you shall vnderstand her simple excuse, cleanly made ; for in a mans iudgement it would not be thought there was much difference betweene their ages. And, as it was gathered after, she meant one way, and the Messenger tooke it an other ; for she meant yong in substance, though he vnderstood it for yeers ; as, after further talk, she plainly exprested. What shall *Honeflie* say more of her ? in footh, nothing, but to pray, either for the amendement of her and her companions, or else that this punishment may be inflicted vpon them ; that is to say, that they may be so haunted, vntill they deale better, as they may not peepe foorth of their houes, without as much wondermen[t] as the Owle hath that flieth in the day time. And doo they deserue lesse that make fooles ? it hath beene a fustie saying, *Qui moccat moccabitur*, and, vntill that proue true by practise, as it falles out true often vnlookte for, we that are to speed shall neuer finde better. If all men will agree to *Honeflie*, we wil keepe a Cronicle of such wenches ; my selfe will be speake the registreship, and though it be no great office, yet it may doo much good. But now to a fourth kinde.

Which were a thrise-made, not a threed-bare Widdower, and a five times left Widdowe, both of them being so much in Fortunes booke, as they were endowed with the ¹ thousands. They soone agreed vpon the matter, and within a shorte time were married ; vuto whose house, hauing heard them boast of their substance, I often resorted to see what good cheere they kept ; I was twise there together in Christmas time, but neuer could see hottie meate, yet good store of cold, by reason they had had foure daies before many guests. But since the holly dayes, hoping for hotter fare, I found him and she set at a couple of red Herring & a slice of barrel butter : colde fare, as I thought, for a tuesday supper. Alas ! how were the seruants dieted,

[* leaf D 4,
back]

when they had no better? I would haue thought *the faulfe* to haue beeene in her, vntill she saide vnto me, that she was sorrye she had no better fare for *Honefie*; when the olde Churle replied, ‘holde thee content, wife; he is welcome, I thanke God I haue this for him!’ ‘I thanke your worship,’ saide I; though I thought, ‘I beslirewe the Charles hart!’ But there of force must I lode too, for that I had ouer farre home, and he that had fedde me so hungryly, had found talke enough to keepe me with him till midnight. I must confess I lay better then I had supped; lodgde in the next Chamber to themselfes, there being nothing but a thinne wall betweene vs. After my first sleepe, I heard them two very lowde, and though I did not greatly desire to be a partaker of their secret, yet I could not choose, vnles I had beeene either naturally or artificially deafe. They were at so hotte words, as he cryed, ‘out vpon thee, old beggarly whore!’ with other most shamefull tearmes; she therby being forced thus to complaine: ‘Alas, that euer I was borne to see your face; I was no begger when I met with you, for I brought with me as good as twentie thousand pounds, which now being at your disposition, you deale thus crabbedly with me; meeting together in respect but yesterday, what hope resteth to me of the end, seeing the beginning is so bad? you diet me with hardmeat, and cheer me with crabbed vsage; I can neither haue a penny in my purffe, nor a good shooe to my foote. I greeue to heare my seruants repine thereat, though I cannot amend it, and ¹for that I tell you of it which may redresse it, [x sig. E] thus you reuile me.’ ‘Holde thy peace, olde whore (quoth he), or I will make thee; if they like it not, let them mend theirselves, and either charme your young, or I will clapperclaw your bones;’ with which cooling carde, she was glad to be quiet, as I gesse, for I could heare no more of her at that time.

Now, *Honefie*, hauing leasure to thinke of what he had heard, still harpt of *the twentie thousand pounds*, which, as I thought, was meeter to haue made a King, then to haue pleased a churle; with *that* I condemned his cruelty, and pitied her chaunce, so long thinking on her hard fortune, as I fell a sleepe, taking vp the remnant of my mornings nap. Well, before I rose, my olde carle was vp, and before I was ready, gone abroad; when suddenly comming foorth of my lodging, forced to passe through his Chamber, I found the good olde

woman shedding teares so abundantly, as I could not but greeue for company. But, seeing me, she rowzed vp her selfe, and would haue shadowed her discontent; yet, at last, assured I had heard the iarre, she saide she was sorrie I had beene disquieted; the which I excused, saying, ‘I was more greeued for her then for my disquieting, for had that beene the worst, *Honeſtie* hath beene farre worse troubled.’ ‘Ah, good fir (quoth she), this is their fortune that are couetous; for I had enough left me to haue liued like a woman, if I could haue been so contented; but aiming at dignitie, hath been my destruction, and longing after promotion hath brought me to this miserie; my last Husband was accounted a good houſholder, and companion to the best in the parish; but he being gone, and my hope to become a Lady, hath ledde me to this ill bargaine. Ah, gentle *Honeſtie*, I was no meane woman when I met with him, but he thinkes, for that I haue turned my Cloth to filke, he hath made me happie. How happie had I beene, if I had neuer feene him; but too late it is to wish, and folly to complaine, for that it was my owne choice that hath matcht my selfe with such a churle. He clothes me in gay ¹ coates for his owne credit, but with them cloyes me with multitudes of discontentments; abroad he is gone, and perchaunce I shall not see him till bed time; nor are ſuch tricks plaide ſeldome, when he leaues nothing, what need foever we ſhould haue of any thing, but what the houſhold prouifion is, the best being no better then your yesternights fare. If he brings any bodie home with him, we muſt run to the Cookes to ſaue fiering; nor can a bit of bread be eaten without an account giuen to him; he ſearcheth euery corner, & chides for euery candles end he findes misplaced; and if, perchaunce, he happe on a cruft, he will make as much firre as if it were the loffe of a Cow; he will prie into the greace pot, and hunt after the Tappe droppings: to be breefe, the creame pot ſhould be ouerlooked by him euery day, once at the leaſt, and his fiering ſurueied as often; a Cheeſe cannot be cut without his leauue, nor a ſticke be burned without grutching. Nor doo I ſo much greeue at this in respect of my ſelfe, as for that my ſeruants want their due, their want being more irkefome vnto me, then this scant; for what will they let to reporte? and who can blame them? or who will ſtaye in ſuch an houſe, and not without reaſon? ſo that dayly discredit is heaped on vs, and con-

[^x sig. E,
back]

tinuall care for looking after new seruants, neuer from vs. This is my greatest hart breake; and my sute to haue this redressed, is our only breake-peace. He fumes when I informe him of what I haue heard, and stampes when I tell him it is not well; nor wil I tel thee all, for that this is too much, nor shouldest thou haue knowne of thus much for me, except his crabbednes had made the path. But, hark! he is come in; for the passion of God, hide thy selfe! for if he should know thou wert not gon, he will mistrust vs, and smart I shall for vs both.'

Now, the Diuell breake his necke, or God amend him, thought I; yet, for feare of her harm, I was content to be lockt vp by her into a closet, where I was constraind to stay, while *the* teeth chattered in my head, before we could be rid of him. Well, at last, by good fortune, a companion of his fetcht him ¹ forth to dinner, who, being [¹ sig. E 2] gone, I was let forth, an extraordinary fier being made for my welcome down; & to make me a mends, she had sent a bracelet she had, of which he knew not, to paune, prouiding so good fare for my Dinner, as I was not at better all the Christmas. But while we were eating of it, our mirth could not be much, her feare was so great of his comming home; but we, making as quick speede as our teeth would let vs, after we had doone, I thanked her, taking my leaue and departing. Wel, my backe was scarce turnde, when she bid her men and maids to bestirre them, that the kitchen might be dreft vp, and the remnant of our Christmas fire to be quencht and cast into the priuie, least his search should finde out the brandes, and that breed no little disquietnes to them all. Alas! poore wretch, thought I, how much seruants are there which liue at more easie, and stand in lesse awe, then thou doost! Is this a wiues portion? doubtles, no; but a iust plague for couetousnes; for they which cannot vse a benefite when they haue it to a good purpose, shall want it when they would, and seeke it when they cannot finde it. Couetousnes shall not escape hell; for how farre, I pray you, was she from it? her good daies died with her matching with him; and if there be any purgatory betweene vs and hell, she was in it, and thereby at the next doore to that dungeon. I would but all couetous mindes were plagued but with a dramme of the like discontent; I would haue theirs but a seauen-nights punishment, whereas she must endure, peraduenture, seauen-

yeeres torment. *Honestie* thinkes such a messe of miserie would bring them to a banquet of happines at their deliuerie from that wretchednes. If many of our coye dames, that cannot be content with any thing, and are so curios, as daily dainties feeme nothing vnto them, were but pincht a while with her morselles, I am perswaded it would faue their husbands a great deale of charges in their diet thence after, and would make their seruants much happier, by being freed from much needeles labour. Their houses would be pulled downe, and the ¹delight of their curios poked ruffes would be set aside; they would not respect the superfluous dishes they vse, nor regarde their superstitious curiositie in rubbing the flowres of their houses: what should I say more? they would vse obedience towards their Husbands more, and brawling with their seruants lesse, they would thinke of their owne happie liues, & pittie others: they would seeke to please, and be more easily pleased; they would liue contentedly, and be thankfull for so great prosperitie.

[¹ sig. E 2,
back]

The fishe that hath beene stricken with the hook, feares the baite; the childe that hath burnte his fingers, dreads the candle; the horse that hath beene punished with the spurre, suspectes the wagging of the heele; and the apprehended theefe begins to thinke on the halter. What delight brings sweete things vnto them that neuer tasted of sharp fauce? or, what an indifferent opinion carrie they of prosperitie, that haue neuer beene in miserie? The vnridden Colte bites the snaffle, while the olde horse is glad to play with the bit; and they that are vsed to fhackles, weare them without much annoiance; for that it is vse that gets experience, and experience that brings profit. When a curst Cow hath short hornes, harme is lesse suspected; and if a crabbed cur be musled, there can be no danger. There are both baites to entice, and bobbes to make to forbear; allurements to winne, and corrections to drieue away; and he that thought this to be needefull, knowes best to vse it, which happens alwaies to vnbrideled nouices, once good speede eggis vs to a second aduenture; and, if twise a theefe hath escaped the halter, he will neuer leauue vntill he purchase tiborne. ‘My last Husband was so good,’ makes some so desirous of a second, as their hastie bargaine brings ouerlate repentance. ‘Like will to like,’ quoth the Diuell to the Collier, and some will neuer be satissified vntill their mouthes be filled

with Clay. He that hath enough, seekes for more, and so I carrie a great countenance, I care not how I am beloued. Indeede, what cannot money doo, that will buye any thing? and yet honestie will purchase that ¹ which all the muck in the world cannot compasse, [^{1 sig. E 3]} namely, a good report for euer. Who knowes not that the couetous man cannot liue quietly? and why wil we not knowe that the aspiring minde shall be brought lowe? The loue of your wealth is in your owne hands, but the key of your wittes kept by a higher guide. You may chose a ritch man, and hunt after an honest (yet ritches and honestie goe fildome together), but to say it shall be for your weale, must craue anothers leauue. Hee that giues all things, can giue thee both; and if thou wilt taste of his liberalitie, built on his charitie, suspect not, and speede well, feare, and speede ill; let therefore all thy care be built on his kindenes, and thou wilt be better contented with a kinde begger then a crabbed churle. To take heede by another mans harme, is a louing warning; but if thou wilt needes try, take the hazard. When our neighbours house is on fier, we haue neede to bestirre vs; and he that fits still at such an extremetie, is worthie to taste of the like miserie. To looke ere we lep is good counsell, yet, to looke hartely, and lep faintly, makes many to fall into a ditch dangerously; well, a word to a wise man is enough, and there are few women but haue store of wit, if they adde discretion vnto it. *Honestie*, therfore, wishes them to vse it so well, as they neuer speede ill.

A fift sorte now followeth, which was a couple standing in the midst of the company, both of them being of equall yeares. He was a young ciuill gentleman, no lesse proper then hee seemed wife, his discreet gourernement beautifying both; but she, though shee had wit at will, and was very proper, yet lacked shee the other step to wisdome, namely, discreetenes in her behauior. Her immodest fondnes gaue suspect of vnciuill lightnes, so that her ouerforwardnes seemed to overlay her louers affection. Shee would hang about his neck before all that company, as a iacke of Napes doth fitting on the bear-heards shoullder, and kisse as openly, as a dog scorners carelesly. She followed him at heeles like a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his slieue. He could not stirre without ² her company, [^{2 sig. E 3, back}] nor scarce goe to make water, but she would awaite on him. Thus

much did she not let to doe openly, and therefore I had the more desire to see how she spent her time secretly, which was as contrarie as might bee; for whereas she would bee mad merrie in his company, in his absence she would be as mad melancholie. Shee then would sit in a corner, as a dogge doth that is crept into a hole, hauing done a shroude turne, wetting her couch with teares for the lack of her sweet heart, as a childe doth the bed for want of a chamber-pot. But, being in a good vaine, shée would pen passionate sonnets, and, in that humor did I once take her, when she had newly finished this amorous dittie:

SAd is the time while my deare loue is alsent ;
Eise waile my misse, and tongue bewailes him wanting ;
Heart bleedeth teares that doo encrease my torment,
And yeelds forth sighes which set it selfe a panting ;
While he is absent, such is my delight,
As is the saylers in a stormie night.

If I chaunce sing, with sighes my songs be graced,
And in my tunes, my grones my baces be ;
Grieuous complaints are for the trebles placed ;
The meanes be teares, the tennor miserie.
Foure partes I beare, and want the fiste alone,
Which is my ioye that with my loue is gone.

When I should speake, my tongue forgets it talking ;
When I should write, my fingers are benommed ;
Wnen I should goe, my feete haue lost their walking,
And every part is dead, of fense bereaued :
Nor can I tell what is the cause of this,
Except because my heart with him gon is.

Thus dayes are nights to me, while he is wanting,
And meriest songs are plaintes for ioy departed ;

¹ *My mirth is mone, my sorrowe succor wanting,*
And fences gon, my bodie haue unharted :
So that I liue alive, as being dead,
And by his absence sole, this death is bread.

After the selfesame order spends shée her well spent time, yeelding

such bitter sighes, while she is setting downe the like passions, as a horse doth hartie needes, that is troubled with an extreame colde. Then, pausing a while on that she hath done, weighing the estate of her lamentable case, shée castes her selfe vpon hir bed, breathing against the fates the rancor of her heart, after this manner : ‘ Vniust and cruell sisters, that haue prolonged my dayes to endure this miserie ; is this the force of your decree, to decrease my ioy by increasing my dayes ? Haue you drawne to this length the thread of my life, now to cut the same with so sharpe an edge-toole ? Cruell and vnkinde are ye, so crabbedly to deale with a poore virgin, suffering me to liue to endure this crueltie.’ There, making a full point, would she lie gasping as if she were giuing vp the Ghost ; till at length, hauing gathered winde, shée would thus begin to murmur against Fortune : ‘ Vnconstant dame, so much delighting in mutabilitie, as all thy ioye is to alter chances ! How wauering is thy wheele, and how vncertaine thy fauours ! the one still turning, and the other neuer remaining long, where so ere they are bestowed. Was this the pittie of your heart, to set downe so vnmercifull a doome, as I should alwaies rest vnhappy ? You whirle your wheele about to please your selfe with the turning, tossing thereby vnto me one miserie vpon another ; then easing me of that burthen, to make the next seeme more displeasing vnto me ; thou shewes me my harts ioye, and sets me on the top of delight, to beholde the difference betweene weale and woe. But, from thence thou throwest me as quickly downe, as I was ioyfully seated, letting thy wheele rest as ouerlong, while I lie in the dungeon of vnceasing paine, as it did too too little stay at the ^[¹ leaf E 4, back] height of my pleasure. Thou giues me kinde words and cruell fare, happy fightes and horrible heart-akes ; thou shewes me rest, and fees me with trouble, setting me at the table of dainties, yet binding my hands least I should touch them, so far am I from tasting of their sweetnes. Vnkinde and vncertaine fortune, what chance had mankind to be charmed to thy beck ? and, wherein are we more unfortunate, then in being forced to obey fortune ?’ To which interrogation, her selfe would answere with a flat mad fit ; cursing her parents that begot her ; her birth day wherein shée was brought forth ; the nurse that gaue her sucke ; the cradle that lulled her asleepe ; death, for that hee ended not her dayes ; and her selfe, for that she

was. Now tearde she her haire from her head ; anon she vnapparell'd her selfe to hir smooke ; then, like a spirit would shee daunce the Morrice about the chamber, and soone fassing her selfe downe by the fiers side, fit no les fenceles then her actions had been witleffe, a long time resting as in a traunce. But, at last, as ouerlate comming to her selfe, shee would, looking on her selfe, seeme to bee afraide of her selfe ; sorrowfull to see the fruite of her forsaken reasoun ; and rising, would soone make her readie. Being readie, shee fell vpon her knees, crying the Gods mercie, and powring forth abundance of teares, in token of her penitencie. And after that, being indeede in her rightest minde, shee tooke her lute, singing to her fingering this sonnet :

What booteth loue, that liking wants his ioye ?
Grieuous that ioy which lackes his hearts-content ;
The sight of sweete in tasting of anoy,
Ads but more grieve to former hearts-torment.

What sweete in loue to liue debarr'd of loue ?
Soure is that sweete as honny mixt with gall ;
Loue with vnrest the heart to passions moue,
That fighing sing, and singing figh withall.

[¹ sig. F]

¹ *While eyes beholde the pleasure of my heart,*
Heart ioyes through eyes in gayning of that sight ;
But when that pleasure from mine eyes doth part,
Heart partes with ioy, and rests in heauie plight.

And tongue may sing a hei ho for my heart,
That through mine eyes doth finde both ioy and smart.

Which musick would bee so metamorphosed, as, in truth, her singing would turne to fighing, and her playing to complaining, when, in a rage, she would throwe her lute downe, beginning to dilate on her loues vnkindnes, that could be so cruell to stay foure and twentie houres from her. Now, found shee the fault with her selfe for being so fond on him, that forbeared so carelesly her companie ; and, by and by, in a great rage swearing to forsake him, she setled her selfe to frame a rayling letter for a last farewell. But, before shee had scarce written an vnkinde worde, she paused on the matter, casting both pen,

inke, and paper from her ; yet, vpon her seconde aduice, about she goes with a fresh charge to pen a crabbed charme, and had gone so farre as she had set downe, *Fie, vnkinde wretch!* And there, againe, in a doubt of going forward, or leauing the rest vndone, shee gnawed so long vpon her pen in studying what to doe, as she had eaten it almost quite vp. But, at last, with a resolution, shee played the woian, falling into so kinde a vaine of scoulding, as she had charged him with a thousand discourties for missing one nights resorte vnto her. And, as she was concluding her colour, with a protestation neuer to desire to see his face againe, in came one of her sisters with newes that Master *Anthony* was belowe. Which so quite purged her of her melancholie, as in a rage she rent the paper, and cast all her anger with it into the fier, postng with such haste to her sweete-heart, as in stead of running downe, she tumbled downe a whole paire of stayres. Which bad beginning was carelesly put ouer with the conceiued ioy of his presence ; shee entertaining ^[x sig. F back] him with a kisse, for that he was not forward enough to bestowe on her the like fauour. But ere long, shee began to perceave that Master *Anthonie* was changed, being nothing so frolick of his kindnes as hee had been, and it was no maruel. For some reporte of her fore-used fondnes was come to his eares, that being no small frost to nip his former affection ; so that his onely comming was to make that conclusion she was of late imagining, soone finishing in wife and discreet tearmes that her suspect was penning. Vpon whose departure, with the paune left of his resolution, my minion fel into a sound, there being such a stirre for her recouerie, as what for running for *aqua vita*, postng for ale, plying warme cloathes, and such like, there was no lesse rule then is in a tauerne of great resorte. ‘Here, forsooth,’ saith she that had the *aqua*, ‘come quickly ;’ ‘By and by,’ answered shee, being called that went for the ale ; the rest no other wise replying to euery question and commaunde. Well, at length life was got in her ; though no words could bee drawne from her ; but, being got to bed, she song ere long like a bird of Bedlam.

In which fit I left her, more pittyng her peeuiishnes then her passions ; the rather lesse regarding either, for that I knew that violent fit would not stay long. But, to tell you what *Honestie* thought all this while, for I knowe that is your longing ; and, if you

befhrowe any body, blame her for not letting you haue your will sooner, by keeping me so long there against my will. For vnwilling I was to stay there so long, and as loath to leauue her before shee had left at a full point. That you might know all, was my wish; and since I haue mine now, you shall not bee long without your wil. She neuer fighed hartely, but I laught as merely, being as often readie to pisse my breeche for ioye, as she was to shed teares, which came from her as had at commandement. And, wherefore was *Honefzie* thus vncharitable, thinke you, reioycing at his neighbours miserie? Surely, because her selfe was so foolish to bee so disquietly

[^c sig. F 2] moued with nut-shels: would it not haue made a ¹ horse breake his halter, to see her mumble to her selfe as an ape mowes at his own shaddow? Doubtles,—may I speake it without the suspect of arrogancy?—*Honefzie* hath as much holde of his ciuilicie, as a mare hath of her honestie; and yet, I might as well be hanged as be kept from being merry when she mourned. A Camelion cannot change her selfe into more kinde of colours then shee would vse change of motions. Sometimes shee would walke with her hands clasped, and her eyes cast vp to heauen, as if shee were sent for, with all speede to render an account of her passions. Anon, she would runne about the chamber like a hare that had lost her way; then, by and by, would she houle like a kinde dogge that had lost her master. After that, girne like a Monkie that fees her dinner; and ere long be as dead as a dore naile, lying by the fier side as a block doth at the backe of a chimney. And this last *simile* proues not worst, for she burned no lesse through the cinders of too kinde affection, then the logge dooth with the helpe of charke-coles.

Was not this a monstrous fit, that had so many motions? Why, if *Honefzie* should tell you how shee would sometimes bite of her owne nailes, knocking the wall with her feete, praunsing on the ground, and lepping of and on the bed, you would thinke hee had to doe with an vnruyl iade. Fie, no, she was a mankinde creature! and I would not offend them for a kingdome; but this *Honefzie* is such a pestilent spie-fault, as he cannot see a wench out-start the bounds of modestie, but straight he hollowes the sight of a striker, thinking it vnpossible that if shee want maidenly behauour, shee can haue womanly honestie. Well, I knowe some will say hee is a pick-

thanke ; but were not they shonne-thankes, they would speake better of *Honesties* sonne. But thus much for *Honesties* credit ; and now, againe to my craft-loue, that had crauled so farre into affections extremitie, as she had lost the habit of her customers curtesie. I went once more of deuotion to see her, because I left her in so extreame an agonie, and it was ¹within two dayes after ; Whome then I [^{{ sig. F 2,}
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found clasped within a new louers pawes, as iocunde with him of mine honestie, as euer I sawe her pleasant with Master *Anthonie*. And what thought *Honestie*, then, thinke you ? in faith, no otherwise then I am assured you doe now. I thought vpon such fondnes the prouerbe was builded, ‘hot loue wil be soone colde ;’ but enough of that in another place, and thus much more of her at this time.

She was as glad, I warrant you, of a louer, as a weried iade is of a faire way ; and he, being tyred, is not more glad of a stable, then she was desirous of a babell ; it is onely for rime at this instant, and therefore let it passe (I pray you) with your fauour ; but, whether it doth or no, I beshewe my name if I get any blame. For my tongue will not amble out of the trueth, though I should digge out my guttes with the Spurre, ‘ Beware least you offend.’ There is one still at mine elbowe, and fayes I must take heede how I dissemble, since *Honestie* is become a deitie. I would I were not, or went not so vnusible : for then I should not craule so easily into maydens chambers, and heare them boaste of so many fauours bestowed by them on this day ; so many kisses giuen to one ; another vnloofing her garter, yea, and the thought hee went not high enough. Well, but that I am mercifull, and will not name you that are so immodest as to boast of such lightnes, for if I should, I should quite fray away many of M. *Anthonies* companions from bestowing their affections on so liberall whipsters. But I faye no more, for shame, hoping I shall haue no cause to speake of the like againe, you will become so cinill ; then, thus much for you, and now to another.

This way a coy dame, whose nice stranges mouded me not to the least admiration ; she stooode iust at the doore, to whom not so few as twenty had in my veine made suite. They were of sundrie sciences, and of all degrees, that had tooke the deniall of her, which made mee the rather to admire the cause ; and, to obtaine my longing, I lodged my ² selfe that night vnder her bed. When she was layed, and one of [^{{ sig. F 3]}

her mothers maides with her, shee began thus to parly : ‘ Wot you what, *Nan* (quoth she), how many futors thinkes thou haue I sent packing to daye ? ’ ‘ Not so many (answered the maide) as you did the last time you were there.’ ‘ Yes, faith, girle, double’ (replied she). ‘ And found you so many faultes in these (quoth *Nan*) as you did in the other ? ’ ‘ Nay, I trow, wench (answered she), I let not them passe in whom I discouer not many ouer-slippes.’ ‘ And what were their faults, I pray you ? ’ quoth the girle. ‘ Some of them had store of wealth (answering she), but little honestie ; other were honest enough, but too too hard fauoured ; some had good faces and bad bodies ; other being proper, had crabbed countenances ; some were amiable for fauour, perfect of bodie, yet ill legged ; other, which were well legde, shaled with their feete, or were splafooted ; and, to be briefe, they that trode right, were either clouterly caulfed, tree like set, spindle shankte, or bakerly kneed ; onely there were two exquisitely shapte, whereof one was too tall, and the other too too lowe. Thus much for their parts, and now to their properties.

‘ They that were wealthy were meanely qualited, and they that had many good properties were moniles ; some had good toungs, and spake well, hauing as ill gefstures ; others were rich and seemed wise ; those I suspected to be wenchers. And, to make as shorte woorke in telling thee of them, as I made speedie hafte in fending them packing, either I mislikte their estates, scorned their personages, lothed their want of qualities, or could not away with their kinde of wooing.’ ‘ But shal I be so bolde (quoth *Nan*) to aske you one more question ? ’ ‘ I, twentie, and thou wilt ; for, in faith, I haue no list to sleepe.’ ‘ In sooth forsooth, then (quoth the girle), what manner of man shall he be with whom you will match ? ’ ‘ Mary, such a one (answering she) as shalbe the onely matchles creature in the worlde.’ ‘ But how will you meete with him ? ’ replied *Nan*. ‘ As he shall light vpon me by Fortune.’ ‘ But Fortune is blinde (quoth ¹the wench), and may lead him to another in steade of you.’ ‘ Yet, as she is blinde (replied the other), so is she a Goddesse, a good supporter of my chaunces ; and I know my reporte is set so neere her elbowe, as she cannot forget me if she would.’

[¹ sig. F 3.
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I, marry, sirs, you talk of a wench, and what w[o]ts this of a proud one ? is it not great pittie but nature should haue compassion on this

neate creature, and shape for her a mirrour of meane worth? Now, of my troth, *Honefie* likes such an one; and why, thinke you? I will tell you my reason, and if it iumpes with your conceite, say you mette with a kill Crowe. I am assured that they that are of my minde shall escape a great deale of trouble; for, of mine honestie, if I should light on such an one, I know certaintly I should be quickly rid of a neere mishap, in being preuented of matching with a nice ninnie by a nice body; for not being the paragon of the worlde, would keepe me from marrying with the onely paltrie one of the worlde; whether, then, thinke you such to be profitable members of a common wealth? Howsoeuer you think, *Honefie* hath said, he thinks them hurtfull to none that escape them, for *that* their folly onely hurtes themselues, dooing good to others, in the like manner as he hath tolde you. Trot you, and you will, to trye your Fortune, and runne to wooo such curious customers; but say I bid you take heede, least you refist good lucke, by being importunate to wooo them, with whome you shall winne a masse of manner-les Monkish trickes. And I speak especially to you, that hunt after monsters of modestie, desiring to haue the maidens you would matche with, as very matrones as your mothers. Beware you light not vpon an ouerwearied, conceipted followm-bird, being one that hath beene so curious to be talkte with of any, as, hauing liued ouer long without one, is become glad of any. *Honefie* knowes such, and you may be troubled with such, and how can you thinke your selues vnworthie? In faith, ill conceited birds, if you thinke your selues so vnwise, as you are vnable to gouern a wilde wench, you will ¹ shewe your selues more foolish if you match with a nice no- [¹ leaf F 4] maide. But what faide *Honefie*? be there any such? I, that there are, ordained, for the nonce, to nurture such noddies. It is as easie to be mislead by hypocrisie, as it is follie to trust to an vncertaintie; and it is more vncertaine to know now a daies whether a woman bee honestly modest, or knauishly coye, then whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or iadish.

See how I haue a tale by the end, of a ninnie of my now handled maidens qualitie, which was a Misers Daughter in the low Countries. Who was so proper a peece of flesh, as I can tell you we haue not many Oyster women that out goes her in hooke shoulders. By reporte she was a louely one; but that she was monstrous blobber

lipt, and stoopt somewhat vnreasonably in the vpper parte of her backside ; but that is no matter, her father was richer then most in that Countrie, and why shold not she thinke her selfe the properest of a thousand? of *Honefies* word, so by likelyhoode she did ; and if you say not so anon, then say I haue heard a lye. She thought her selfe so proper, as none vnder a Burges his eldest Sonne might sue vnto her, and he too to be no faultie gallant ; for he with all commers should be so surely fifted by her, to see whether they trod their shooes awry or no, as the Miller doth the grift before he mingles chalke amongst it. She would haue a fling at their heades, to see whether they were round like a ball, or long like a bottell ; and so from euery parte, til she were past the vndermost parte of their Pantopes. And, in all of them she would be sure to finde some fault or other, the least being a sufficient cause to cut off their proceedings. Thus dealt she so long, as at last her doulthage was vnawares come vpon her, making her fustie curiositie a shamefull mockerie throughout the Countrie ; so that the generall reporte of her bruted ignomynie made her growe glad of any companie ; and now faine would she be married, though loth to encrease her shame by matching with farre worse then she had refused being offered, and ¹therefore, thinking to hinder the make-speede of murmured ignominie, with a craftie colour of a continuing care to couple her selfe to one of Fortunes darlings, she concluded there shold be a Lotterie, and whose chaunce it was to be drawnen by her shold onely posseſſe her withered self. You must thinke that many were glad to win her ; for whom almost will not wealth woe to a bad bargaine ? My storie reportes that of all fortess, ſome for paſtyme, and others for profitte, put their ſcrolls into fortunes budget, and on the day when my minions draft ſhould be manifested, who ſhould haue her by lot, but ſuch an one as *Tomwitles* is, that will cry if one offer to take away his bable !

[¹ leaf F 4,
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A ſutable mate for ſo long a ſearch ; there was but one grand foole in a Country, and ſee how Fortune had kept her for him. Now, ſuch chaunce follow like curious coye wenches ; and may neuer wiſer perſons match with them. And are they not, thinke you, the meetest for them ? For they deſire to haue them that haue the ſmalleſt faults, and *Honefie* thinks it the leaſt fault in a man to be a foole. Who is more proude then a foole ? and what woman more

coy, for the most parte, then she that hath least reason for it? The Crow likes her own birde best, though it be the blackest; and would not we haue women thinke well of themselues? I pray you let them haue their willes; or they will, whether you will or no; and if you like them not, you may leauue them; and with as good reason as they will be sure to deale so with you, vntesse you highly please them. The Ass hath a curious eye, and *that* makes his pace so flowe; for short legges will tripp at euery stone, and what, she is not afraide to fall on a stome! And reason too, but they will neuer be happie, vntill Tom foole and his fellowes be banisht for throwing stones at them, which often hurt their bellies, whereas their falling breakes but their knees. Alas! poore asses, that your eyes cannot keepe you from burthens, as they make you ouer-leape often vnknowne dia-
[1 sig. G1]
mondes. But what are more pretious then pleasing thoughts? and what fancies are more full of pleasure then *'thoſe that moſt extoll*

our selues? This arrogancie is an infectious pestilence; for we get pride one from an other, as we purchase the plague in a mortalitie. But once more returne we to the merry talke of our coye Maiden.

After a long progresse passed in description of the sweet hart she would haue, being such an exquisite proper qualited Squire, as is scarce one in a whole Countrey, *the maid fell with her to this point:* 'Now, of my troth (quoth she), by your leauue, I am not of your minde; for such a matchles fellowe is as meeete a baite to entice many women to doo his wife wrong, as a faire woman shall haue futors to doo her Husband a shrewde turne. And, therefore, as I would not wish to be matcht with such a crabbed peece of flesh as none can fancie, so desire not I to holde a mark for euery one to shoothe at, the rather for that there are fewe men which will refuse a kinde offer. Beware when the woman woos! if she be perceiued to be forward to some dispositions, she shall not want the offering of a bob; so that the bobbing bable shall bob the foole with her own curious choice.' Which knauish quip did so nip my Mistres Daughter on the head, as in troth she left arguing, and fell harde to scolding.

This is bobbing with a witnes, thought *Honestie*; but surely it were pittie it should not be true in some cases; and in those onely would I wish it true, that striue so far to out-goe their fellowes in superexcellent obiectes.

[r sig. G,
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Beware the Foxe that hath the smoothest skinne! it is signe his coate is olde, and his wit not young; he will be sure of a goose in store, when many of his neighbours shall want one. I know some, about whome Nature hath bestowed so long time in shaping faire faces with proper bodies, as she hath at last for haste beene constrained to let them passe with vsuperfect harts. She must performe her stinte, and a time is limited her to fashion euery childe; by reason, then, they must haue the purest harts, *that haue the vnlikest shapes*. I know what you will say, and therby, wil onely seeme to gainsay *Honestie*, for that it is a Prouerbe, ¹*Crooked without, and crabbed within*. Of troth, I must confess, that it is very likely, though not alwaies true (for, no work-man but hath sometimes a mischaunce happen to his most curious worke, after the finishing therof, either by a fall or such like casuall chaunce), that a halting bodie hath a dissembling hart, and a mishapen creature a crabbed disposition; and we doe finde it commonly, that vnder foulest aspects are hidden the fairest harts, though I know women accompt blacke thinges to be of least worth. But search againe, and looke what dye is more perfect, or what will take foile sooner, then the milke-like white? well, the maidens proposition pleased *Honestie* ouerwell, as you may gesse by my long stay vpon it; but I will assure you it displeased no les my yong mistres. Alas! it is a little thing that will not displease them whom nothing can please: and shal we thinke a wench could possibly please her long, vnto whom so many men were disliking? Now surely he shall haue a new accompte, that reckons on lesse then this; namelye, that his matching with such a minion, which was so curious to be pleased, will craue as great care to be kept pleased, as a iade will require arte to be kept from tiring. Nor doo I say she wil be tired; I would rather be driuen to affirme he shalbe iaded, though with such an one as will neuer be tired.

But let such as my Mistres Many-mislike is, take heede least by their coye kindenes they kill their harts whome they would gladly faue after, with all their arte, and cannot. How easie is it to put that away with our little finger, which we would willingly recouer againe with both our hands. I haue knownen some Faulkones that haue beene so curious in dieting their Hawkes, as a nice curtesan is of her fare; and yet sometimes they haue searcht a whole day after the kill-

ing of a carrion Crowe, and mist of it too. The faire lastes not alwaies; and such as lightly regarde a good bargaine when it is profered, may trie the market a twelue moneth after, and misse of the like offer. The rolling stone gathers no mosse, nor the running fan'cie is worth the catching. They shalbe sure to meete with a fickle [^[1 sig. G 2] hart that match with such a wauering loue; and an vnconstant affection is better lost then found. And for that I am entred into the path of vnconstancie, I wil come to a feauenth enemie, which a couple harboured that stood behinde the doore.

He was a Prentice that had foure yeers to serue, which I certainly vnderstoode afterwards, though at that instant I geste no lesse by his fearefulnes to be seene; wel, these had so wooed and wonne the one the other, as sure they were, hauing remained so by the space of three yeers; yet now there was dislike growen betweene them; firste, springing from the woman, that was discontented that she had alreadie lost so much time, being yet bound to endure a longer stay. Who knowes not the certaintie of her presumption, confirmed by an order of the Cittie of London (which is, that if any man, standing bound for the seruing of yeeres, entangle himselfe and marrie before the tearme of his yeeres ended, he shall double his prentiship), and, therfore, must she either out-stay them, or binde him by the hastie match to feauen yeers more seruice. Vpon this inconuenience, mislike harboured in her bosome, hauing tied that with her young which she could not loose with her hands; so that mad melancholly she was for the matche made by her selfe, that tooke so small delight therein.

Now, I would all might be ferued with *the same fauce*, thought *Honefie*, that so soone tying themselues, desire as soone to be loosed; and, it is great maruell when it falles out otherwise, especially in these daies, wherin constancie is made a hackney. *Lingring loue breedes mislike*; and how can that loue be faithfull that is fastned with so slender a thong? There is a thing which maintaines the coherence of two harts, which, if it be long wanting, our loue will proue but watrish affection; I meane, that certaintie of an euerlasting happines, with an assurance of a continuall earthly pleasure. There comes many faire Horses into Smithfeelde in a twelue moneth, which make many that ²are sped already, to wish themselues vprouided, to [^[2 sig. G 2] back]

deale with them ; for all men haue not keeping for two Geldings. It is time that makes a iade knownen ; and our knowledge *that* wishes him further from vs. Many thinges must alter in feauen yeeres, for that wonders happen in a moment. In one day a begger and a King are made equal ; both the pompe of the one, and the poore estate of the other, being buried in dust. Losses come sooneſt vnlooked for, and the worſt bargaines are gotten with the greateſt ſearch ; neede raiſeth the market ; and much enquirie after a commoditie engenders ſuſpect there is ſcarcitie thereof. What cannot golde doo ? and may it not, then, eaſily conuernt a hart that longes after it ? There are many entiſing baites that change many mindes ; & who wil not ſtrive for the golden Apple ? onely except thoſe that know they cannot get it, though they are deferuing thereof, which imposſibilitie muſt needs hatche miserie. How be cormorants more plagued, then by a diſappointment of their purpose ? They that forestall markets, make often times but bad bargaines, as well as the fluggard that comes a day after the Faire.

Is it not folly to ſtrive to keepe a wet Eele by the taile ? or what commoditie arifeth of holding the Diuell by the great toe ? the one is ouer-quicke, and the other wonderous ſtrong ; and, in *Honeſtie* iudgement, a knowne loſſe, the ſooner it comes, the leſſe it greeues ; and better it is to be without company, then to be maſhett with an enemie. Slipperie ware is not the beſt Marchandize ; and what requires more care, then Glaffe that is moſt brittle ? I know you wil ſay a womans hart is as tender, and *that* I think no leſſe. Then, ſince we muſt hazard our welfare, that are conſtrained to deale with ſuch pure metall, being tied to that traffique ; let vs not beſtowe all our hope on a peece we know muſt ſtay ſo long by vs, before we can make proſite thereof. *Honeſtie* is rather a profeſſed ſolicitor for a woman, then a counſeller to a man ; but, for that both men and women are troubled with the like diſeaſes, let them ¹vſe my plaſter that like beſt of my knowledge. Where loue ſtrikes the bargaine, their liking cannot ſtart backe ; but vñles he be bound by his agreement, affection is a fickle fellowe. What furer couenant then ſetled loue ? But they which reſpect not their worde, will hardly regarde an oathe. *Honeſtie* is all, for hee is the father of conſtancie ; and a fig for that loue which muſt be tied by the lawe ! If we foſter a

[¹ sig. G 3]

snake, she will sting vs by the bosome; and hee that sues for an enemie, is worthy to haue his pate broken with want of honestie. A tedious suite makes ritch lawyers and leesing clients; and a desire to haue all, makes vs often to loose all.

I haue heard of a Gentleman that tied himselfe to a poore maide after the manner aforesaide, meaning to marrie with her after the death of his father, for that hee durst not doe it while hee liued. Hee maintained her passing brauely, running himselfe greatly into debt, through the large expenses she laſht out. Which curious and ritch ſetting forth, made many to looke after her, which otherwife would not haue thought on her. A blazing ſtarre preſages alteration, as the Astronomers holde it; and doubtles, a proper woman gayly appareled, breeds miracles in mens mindes. A prancing horſe moues wondring, when a ſure nagge onely pleafeth the rider; ſo while ſhee liued according to her birth, few or none regarded hir; but now ſet forth as readie for ſale, her gallanternes engendred thoughts of ſome great portion to be fallen by an vnlooked for accident. Nor will friends let to ſpeake, to make a friend ſpeeđe well, and hire of the ſame minde gaue forth that it was ſo indeede; vpon which reporte many woɔers were drawne to trie their fortunes, and amongſt them a ritch farmers ſonne ſet in his foote to hazard his happe. Whome her parents and friends ſo well liked, being his fathers onely childe, as they began to perſwade their daughter to take it while it were offered, after this maner: 'Tut, wench (quoth they), while the graffe growes the ſteed ſtarues; and, as foone goes the young ſteare as the ¹olde oxe [r. sig. G 3, back] to the market. Young heads are fickle; and ſuppoſe he ſhould play false, how ſhould we remedie it? Golde bies lawe now a dayes; and may not a bribe eate vp a ſure title, as wee haue heard a fat hog did a poore mans glaffe of oyly? He that can giue moſte, ſhall be ſure to ſpeede beſt; and you knowe, daughter, your father is not able to wage lawe againſt ſo ritch an enemie. Why, woman, you haue not ſeene him this fortnight; and how knowe we but he hath a wife in a corner? By our Lady, girle, ſuch windefalles happen not often, as is this day put into your mouth. By cock and pie, doo as you will, but if you doo refuſe this proffer, we will denie you our bleſſing.' Which counſell ſtoke ſo deepe into her conſcience, as it ſent packing all the affection her protested loyaltie had promiſed, and

turned it so to the farmers sonne, as in short time hee maried with her.

By that time, as my minion had been married three or foure dayes, thither comes postng my out-oynted Gentleman: of whose starke staring mad discontentment, vpon the hearing of his willow guift, *Honestie* lifts not to stand, since you can imagine it was great: but what remedie? What wise man would sue for a false-hearted begger? or what gaine should be got by the recouerie of a broken pipkin? In seeking to haue plagued her, he shoulde haue punished himselfe, adding but shame to the losse of a greater expence, and in the ende, recouered a flap with a foxe tale. Well, I pittie him, because of his kindnes which was so crossed; but if *Honestie* heares of any such kinde asses hereafter, he will make as good spore thereat as the boyes doo at the foole of a Morrice. Are they not worthie to lie by the heelles, that purchase the countertenor with so plaine a pricksong? I warrant you it prixt and pincht him too; but his father was the more willing to release him, for that he hopte that losse had gaind him more wit. *Honestie* could tell you of a thousand that haue been serued after the same order, they hauing promised to staye one for another; some a yeare, others more or lesse, whereof some haue had their¹ hope found within a fortnight of their day, and then, thinking themselues neerest to haue their willes, in come takers, putting their noses quite besides the sweete fent of their forespoken bedfellowes. This can be no small griefe to a kinde, constant heart, that hath, peraduenture, refused many good likely hoods to stay for such a light huswife. He that will thinke himselfe sure to a woman, or shee that will build on a mans constancie, till the parish priest hath saide *God giue yee ioye*, and the brides bed hath borne it first nights waight, he is not of *Honesties* minde, though I wish it were otherwise.

[r leaf G 4]

It is as good to bee assured of the horne, as to bee made sure to an vnconstant heart, for they that looke for les shall be disappointed. God forbid *Honestie* should say it were vnpossible, that two may loue constantly vnmarried seuen yeres; but he may aboue that two say, such are scarce found in seauen ages. Walke but to Westminster,—a place, in faith, where constancie is as little vsed as wit in Bedlam,—and yet there (I warrant you) you shall haue your head filled with tales

of vnconstant louers. Goe, likewise, to Poules (a path as well haunted with hunters of honestie as *Kemps* head is sometimes pestered with knauerie), and blame *Honefslie* if there you heare not outcries of wauering wenches. Long lanes and broade streetes, little cottages and manner places, are at this day, by report, bolstred with naught so much as with vnconstant mindes. Whereby, what through the sorowe Constancies complainte moues, and the grieve honesties broken pate procures, it is great pittie wee should not haue many knackes to knowe knaues by, and as many ligges to gird garish girles with. I[n] peticoate lane is a pocket ful of new fashions, the drift whereof is, that first commers should be first serued; but they meane no commers which enter not the placket. In Shooelane there is one that selles running lether, the vertue whereof is maintained with liquor of a careles heart; so that hee or shee that cannot play light of loue, shall not be customed there. Withdrawe your felues ^[1 leaf G 4, back] to Crooked lane, and, of *Honeslies* credite, you shall finde more traps to catch Rats and Mice there, then constant louers in *Shordich* Church at midnight.

What shall I say, since the art of Cony-catching hath forestalled good iuention? but fie on the diuell that driues such wits to so bad a bargaine, as to be forft to spend their time in no better studies. They haue need of good intelligencers that shall intermeddle with trickes of Coning-shifts; for mine own part, I had rather wade to the middle in Loues whirle-poole, then to the ankles in the brooke of vnconstancie. And yet, force perforce, by Loues appoyntment, I must haue a fling at her followers. Let them flye to the gallowes, for *Honefslie*, that loues her so well; and my fling will driue them to a worse place, vnlesse they leauue her. Vp hill and downe hill is a very troublesome labour; but vp the ladder and downe the rope ends many ones miserie. What steeper way then to the height of affection? and how many often post vp and down betweene that and the valley Likings-recantation. ‘I recant’ now a daies followes Loues heeles like his shadowe; it is a halting crackhalter, and a hurtfull hinderloue, and best he shall be knowne by his stumpe foote. I meane not a mishapen ledge, but a resting loue, that either makes such a full poynt in the beginning, as he can goe no further, or els stands at a stay two or three quarters, not knowing

whether it were best to goe forwards or backwards. Extreames are as daungerous as stretches: for, as many ioynts are out-set or crackt by the one, so many vncurable hurts are receiued by the other. *Honestie* thinkes a feuen nights space is too short a time to fasten a true louers knot; but he that out stayes *the moneth*, may learne as much in that time as is needfull to be knowne. A longer time is pleasing to them that haue barres to hinder their forwardnes, but he that may goe on without hinderances, if hee aimes at a longer respite, take it on *Honesties* word, hee workes but vpon aduantage. They that build their affection vpon reason, are like to remaine most constant; for

[¹ sig. H] ¹ where a condition of profite binds the futors, there a long day will not likely be broken. But this reason craues wisedome, the experiance whereof must awaite on Loues followers, the practise being nothing but this, a care in our choyce to maintaine the maine chaunce. That is, that they which haue little, doe fancie none but such as haue somwhat, and they that haue nothing, either to match with such as haue enough to serue themselues and others, or els to fit stll in the chimney corner. Al must measure their liking according to the depth of their desire, to the end they may liue with contentment, which will (I warrant you) nourish constancie.

Now followeth another sort, which are not the least enemies Loue hath, being our common courting lads, who take such pleasure in their pregnant wits, and so great glorie in their readie tongues, as a wench cannot peepe forth the doores, but they must haue a fling at her beautie. First comes, ‘faire ladie, God faue you’; and then followes, that the fight of such a blazing Commet makes them stand at the gaze, for that such fights are seldome seene. After, ensues their application, falling from the celestiall creatures to their earthly Goddesses, extolling their beauties to such a height, as, when they can goe no further, hauing forgotten their way backwards, they fall downe headlong, breaking the necke of Good reason. Then come they to the good parts of their bodies, and from thence to a supernaturall view of their hidden vertues, building vpon the prouerbe, *A faire face cannot haue a crabbed heart*, though many of them find by experiance, but crabbed entertainment to proceede from those their celestial obiects; yet the most, what through their quicke conceipts, false protestations and vsuall resorting into their companies, bring

many into such a fooles paradice, as they harpe on nothing but mariage. And maruell not, seeing we haue many so forward wenches, that if a man looke but earnestly vpon them, they thinke verely hee is inamoured of their beautie; but shal he speake, and say he loues them, "my father, my mother,¹ and all my friends must be [^{1 sig. H,} back] made priuie to his proceedings, for I know he will haue me."

Alas! light hearts that are lead away with euery kinde blast; know ye not that our age flowes with fine wits, that must borrow their practise of such like patients? Doe not many men cheapen, that meane not to buy? & think you to want such customers? How many come into a Faire with neuer a farthing in their purses, and yet for fashion sake will aske the price of a costly peece of worke! Our tongues stand vs in little charges for reparations; and seeing they weare not, we will not spare to wagge them. But this is best knowne to you women, whom nature bindes to the greatest practise, hauing giuen you no other weapon; yet, I may tell you, men cannot want that instrument, especially in their wooing matters. But did many of both kindes vse it lesse, both you and they should speede neuer the worse, for you should misse of many fond faithles speeches, and they should march without as many kinde hit-home floutes. They should not, playing with the fire, be burnt with the flame, and remaine helpleſs through your careles pitie; nor should you be intrapt in the snares of their smoothe words, decreasing your glorious beauty by hopeles conceites of obtaining your wifhed happines.

Many honest mindes taken at their words, are bound to bad bargaines, when, on the contrarie part, a crackt credit regardes neither his own reputation or anothers welfare. How easie is a free horſe tired, a good edge-toole spoyled, and a kinde heart surfeited? A dull iade will rather be spurde to death then breake his pace; and with a bad knife we may assay to cut any thing, without dooing it much harme; but woe bee vnto that heart, whose maldenes makes it ſelfe ſubiect to a counterfeit kindnes. You ſhall ſighe forth your ſorrow, while they ſmile at their good ſuccesse; they, building their aſſurance of being no loſers on your good diſpoſitions, that ſerue for ſtables to reſt their hopes in; your good natures muſt bee but roumes for haſknies that neuer knowe their maſters, and your kinde ²hearts to [^{2 sig. H 2}] ſerue for mangers to feede their bad conceites. Their trotting ſhall

fasten to your heads heapes of proclamations, the clauses whereof shall breedе thousand of doubted miseries, and ten thousands of carefull heartbreakings. Their counterfeit frendship shall hinder faithfull and louing proceedings, hurting affection by hindring it from it desarte, with keeping it from receiuing the due of requitall. That bootles constancie shall banish faithfull loyaltie by crabbed crosses, and purchase to it self, through a haples conlusion, a cart-loade of carefull extremities. True-meaning thereby shall be deceaued on both fides, and kind-heartednes plauged with ouer-sureset affection. Loue shal be banded away with the racket of dissimulation, and beaten at last into the hazard Despaire by his sporting enemie. What a great losse will followe such a chase, and how great expence of hearts griefe must ensue so shroude a game, gesse you, that lie condemned in the like charges. Onely *Honefie* pitties such a pastime that ends with so smal pleasure, and wil now come to giue you warning of what he hath seene happen in the like cases of little conscience.

There was one of this societie that had so courted vp a wench, as through a potion of pleasure he had giuen her, her belly rose like a blowne bladder. Belly round she was, so that, through his craft, her credit stooode vpou cracking; which she perceauing, entreated her phisition, that as hee had tasted of her curtesie, so he would saue her honefie, declaring that she was with childe, as the truth was. ‘Of my faith (quoth he), what care I? You might haue tooke better heede; you are best to make haste and get a father for it.’ ‘I hope (answered she) you will not serue me so; are these your faire promises? and can your vowes bee so lightly passed ouer? Haue you not made loue to me by the space of a quarter, being vsed kindly of mee, and can you finde in your heart thus cruelly to requite my extraordinarie fauour, putting me to shifte in this extremitie? Is it possible your professed whot loue shoulde be so soone cold, or that ¹ your large promises shoulde turne to so little performance? I cannot thinke you, being a man, can be so cruell as to cast away a poore maiden.’ ‘Away, beast (quoth he), thy perfwasions are as bootles as thy thoughts; and I am assured thou art not so foolish as to build of any thing I haue faide, or of that I haue done, but as of a iest; if thou

{^r sig. H 2,
back]

dooft, it will be a bad foundation ;' and with that, he flong forth of the dores, leauing my maimed-maide in a bad taking.

Doe you tearme such dooing iesting ? thought *Honestie* ; if *Chaucers* iapes were such iestes, it was but bad sporte ; well, a sporte it was, though it proued a sure earnest ; and who knowes not that sweete meates craue sowre sauce ? Her laughing lye-downe came to sad rising-vp, a shrewde sporte to turne to such forrie pastime ; and if such an earnest penny cannot binde a bargaine, nought wil holde the like chapmen but a halter. Now, Tiborne and Wapping waite on such for Porters, as post to markets, so to iest with lac'ſt-mutton. If saying had been all, shee had beene foolish indeede to haue regarded a fooles speeches ; but, seeing he crept so farre into credit with her, as he crackt her placket lace, how could he of conscience call that iesting ? Doth *Honestie* talke of conscience to *Buls* bailiffes, that haue no care of any thing but to sauē their caſſokes from being his purchase ? Now, fie of all the Beadles of Bridewell, if they spare such a sporter comming vnder their correction, without double the dole they punish one of *Baals* common Priests with. I would their blewe coates might fall to be *Hindes* fees, vnleſſe they giue ſuch four'e luſtie laſhes at euery kennell and ſtreets corner they paſſe by. Why, vnder the cloake of honest ſatiſfaction, to allure an honest minde to lewde corruption, is no leſſe thefte then robbing of Churches ; onely the Clarkes conſent feemes in the one to craue ſome tolleration ouer it doth in the other. Then you will ſay they deſerue both to be hanged, and ſo would *Honestie* ſay, but that their christianity merites charitie. But, of my troth, if *Honestie* were a Iuſtice, ſuch as ſue after the ſelfeſame order, ſhould either marrie with them they ¹ haue deceiuied, or [^{sig. H 3}] hang without them, my minion going vnpunished, for that time in hope of amendment. Loue is a kinde hart, and mariage is a ſweete baite ; what, then, will not ſuch promises gaine of a faithfull louer ? This iesting turns to lingring loue, when the weakeſt hath ſurfeited in affection. Sweet ſpeeches haue vowed euerlaſting conſtanſie ; and running in the pleafant meddowe of kindenes, it growes luſtie, ſpending the remnant of his wooing to winne vnto ſuch bad fare ; courting endes with ſuch a charge, changing profeſſed loue into burning luſt. Loue lookeſ to be maintained with kindenes, and when he hath got

what wordes can afforde, then falles he to iesting, which turns contrary to *Chaucers* meaning, to the satifying of a leachers lust in earnest. But too too much of this, except it were better; and once more returne we to our melancholly lefte marde maide.

She, poore soule, set so lightly by in her fortie weekes reckoning, so thought on her present hard hap, as she quite forgot her accompt, whereby now she was in a worse taking then before; for if, being put to her othe, she should misse of that, his counter othe would make but a so so end for her; and, therefore, thus she bestirred her selfe in the matter. She made her case knowne to a freend, and, falling downe vpon her knees, entreated him, for the passion of our Lady, to stand good helpe vnto her, to draw her mate to marry with her. Who, being a very honest man *that* had some care of her credit, laboured so effectually in *the* matter, as, what through promisnes and a peece of money, he made it a match; so that, what through a little honestie my man was endued with, and a peece of money my maiden was endowed with, we had a choptlodgicke. Now, woe vnto such wooed spouses, if their mates want altogether honestie, and they haue no money; and this might haue, perchaunce, wonne the standing in a white sheete without so good a maister. Take heede, girles, how you trust to such helpes, for *Honestie* can tell you they are not ordinarie. It is harder to finde one such in every parishe through a Countrie, ^[¹ sig. H 3, back] then to finde a honest woman in a house of Westminsters Hospitalitie. Alas! how many honest mens children come to decay through this practise? Talke with any corrupted Virgine; and, excepting one amongst twentie, if they all not agree that such enticements were the procurers of their miserie, neuer beleue *Honestie* for a halfeppenie. Beware if a rich mariage be offered for a rewarde of breache of honestie; there are fewe that will not consent to leacherie with such briberie.

But the opening of an other wound remaines, with which loue is hurt by his courting enemies, for they which haue beene once deceiued by flatterie, will hardly be drawen to beleue sinceritie, whereby the faithfull tutor is hindred from his due. The beaten dogge shuns the stick; the tormented patient feares the Pothecaries drugs; the childe that hath beene sore whipt for a fault, will feare, by offending, to hazard his breeche. Who is more warie of his wel-

fare, then he that hath been in greatest extremitie? and if loue hath been wounded with a dissembled affection, he will be afraide to enter into an action from whence the like sorrow may flowe. What giues greater hope of constancie, then vowed loyalty? or what seemes sweeter then sugered flatterie? Affection springeth of kinde vsage, and loue settles on a continued shewe of professed zeale, which, being sure set, cannot be remoued without great danger, except wisedome be a helper. What sorrow danger brings, and what care discontentment harboureth, he knowes not. But of the vnceasing harts-greefe, with the tormenting soure-sauce which seafoneth the destruction of entire affection, none can judge, saue those that haue tasted thereof; onely it may be imagined by *the effects* that haue followed the like causes (as by the vntimely death it hath brought to some, a depriuation of their wits to others, languishing diseases to many; namely, the greene sicknes, the mother, and such like; and lastly, to all mad melancholy fits), that they which are fauoured with the least mishap that comes through want of their longing, are rewarded ¹ with [*leaf H. 4] the losse of a present wel-fare, hauing that supplyed by a gifte of sithing heauines. Now, after *the freedome* from such a mischeefe, who will not sweare to flie from the like danger? And since flatterie cannot, without dangerous triall, be knownen from faithfull freindship, who will not shunne both, fearing to mistake the one for the other? If a kinde hart hath beene deceiued by a crooked knaue, clad in the robes of a courteous louer, she will euer after mistrust the habite, for that it is vnpossible to know the hart. Who can forbid the Tailor to vse his arte? and doo you thinke that any one for an aduantage will let to trie his crafte? The Diuell can change himselfe into any shape; and the onely meanes to knowe him (as is saide before), is his stumpe foote.

Liking wil not be long a dooing; and loue that followes is but little, whereby he brings no great harme; but al the mischeefe comes with desire, which swelles the affections, and predominates ouer loue and liking; he makes the mis-rule, and keeps the open Christmas; he desires the spore, and maintaines the pastime, so that, though he be long in comming, and staies but little in his Lordship, yet the remembrance of his iolitie is not forgotten a long time after. He keepes his custome every yeere; and a yeere with him is but a short

space; so that after he comes to his full age, he makes many Christmasses; for Desire is not short liued. It is therefore this lingring loue that dooth all the harme, because by him Desire is onely begotten. He that, beating the market, is willing to buye, will not stand long a bargaining when he hath met with his liking, for feare a francker customer steppe betweene him and his longing; but if he be careles, he will not deale without a good penniworth. Very easily, then, is the mischeefe of repentance taken from women, seeing a true-meaning tutor may be as quickly discerned, as a careles chapman may be perceiued. And how fondly doo they entrude themselues into the needles hazard of great discontent, that will let their loue runne so farre without reason, as it ¹ cannot be called backe without great greefe at the leaft. Though a buyer be not able to giue the seller his asking, yet will he be earnest to haue it at such a price as he doth offer; and, although this louing customer be not of abilitie to answere thy freends expectation, yet shall he not be forward to be possessed of thee; he is but a watcher for aduantages. So that if either his abilitie be such, as of himselfe he can maintaine thee, or be thy possibilite so great, as by his good endeouour he may winne a liuing, thy freends good will, by the possession of thee, thy affection is too too colde, if thou keepest him lingring without his longing; and his deuotion is small, if he be not an vnceasing tutor for it.

[¹ leaf H 4, back]

And truely, in *Honesties* minde (and pardon me, I pray you, with whose conceipts it iumpes not), thofe matches shall prosper best, where loue is rather respected then wealth; prouided there be a care had of the likelyhoode of possibilite which must come with one of them. But shall one that hath nothing, ioyne louing issue with an other that hath, or is like to haue as little, he hauing no meanes to make a liuing, he shewes himself to be a foolish follower of repentance, and an vncharitable procurer of an others wretchednes? There are many good wits, that wanting matter to worke on, wade into the triall of dangerous conclusions, which otherwise being employed, would become profitable members of a common wealth. All cannot be heires, and many yonger brothers children are but barely left, though they haue had good bringing vp, which nothing hinders their gentrie, onely, now a daies, it is a barre to their preferment. For men wil sooner match their daughters with my yong maister, a rich Coblers

Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good house, being a yonger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this *the making of vpstart houfes*; heerby, thofe that haue had good bringing vp, muſt either goe to plough and carte, being drudges to ſuch drones, or their natures, diſdaining that, and more abhorring to begge, leade them to lewde praetices to maintaine¹ the [1 sig. I] ſtate of their birth. And did you, Fathers, which are to match your Children, know the hart-breakings many parents (which haue beene of your mindes) haue found by triall, then would the feare of vnciuill behauour, which ſpringeth by ſucceſſion from their carterly progenitors, turne your greedie deſire of golden gaine, to a ioyfull gaining of your posterities happines.

But fie of couetoufnes, that is the roote of all miſchiefe; for men that haue enough to make their Daughters Gentlewomen, by matching them with houfes of no ſmall antiquitie, will, with the deſire they haue therunto, woe men of great liuing with large offers, to match their ſons and heires with them; Who, being drawen therunto, will vſe them their wiues meetely well during the life time of their owne and wiues Fathers, for that their estates are by their great portions better maintained, and their beſt freends thereby well pleafeſed. But let your Daughters beware, after your and their Fathers death (when all hope is taken away of a further gaine, and a ſearch made of their auncetors alliance), for then, ſeeing the baſenes of your pettigree, and the noble deſcents of their predeceſſors, that corruption of blood which you, with your corruption of money, hath made, and their Fathers couetoufnes hath purchased to their ſucceſſion, will (as for the moſt parte it doth in the like caſes) moue ſuch hartbreakings, as either quarrelles of diuorcement or futes of ſeparation will ſurely followe. When, on the contrary parte, if reſpeſting gentrie, thereby to aduaunce your houfes, you would match them with Gent. yonger brothers (of whom there ought to be leſſe regarde, the chiefe houſe being maintained), your Daughters portions being the onely maintenance of their estates, would be ſo ſtrong a helpe to encrease their affection towards your children, with purchased happines to their posterities, as knowing no houſhouldē quarrelles can be without charges, they willbe glad to ſtudie to encrease the ſweetenes of vnitie, thereby to continue euerlaſting proſperitie to their following ages.

[² sig. I,
back]

¹ *Honestie* knowes what the fairing-monger will faye, when he shall heare of one so flat against his opinion touching mariages, not letting to affirme that it is most necessarie that the consent of parents should be last sued for, and little regarded in respect of loue, especiallye seeing his Pamphlet buildes so diuinelye on farre-fetcht arguments to proue the contrarie. Therfore, to preuent him, and to prouide against the great danger their matches-making procure, *Honestie* must tell him, and assure all those that are of his minde, that were the worlde like vnto that wherein *Abraham* liued, or were Fathers of these daies of his disposition, his argument drawen from the gift of *Euah* to *Adam*, by God, and such like, might seeme to proue some thing. But, seeing these times in effect are quite contrary to those, and the dispositions of men in our daies altogether disagreeing to theirs of that age, his time had beene better spent in a worke to some other purpose. For a little to seeme to flie from my matter, and to haue a fling at him : how many Fathers now a daies are there so carefull of prouiding convenient mates for their children at a seafonable time as our great Grandfather *Abraham* was ? Againe, how manye haue children that are so obedient to bend their loue to their Parents liking as was *Isaac* ? Oh, Sir, you are deceaued, our yong ones are of riper wits, and far forwarder then Children were in those daies, and our olde ones are of more couetous mindes, and far forwarder to be drawen to their childdrens good ; for what greater good then to enioyē them they loue ? and what will offend our parents more then to entreat that he sent his seruant to search forth one of his next kinne, not to enquire after one that had most wealth ; and should some children entertaine no loue in our time vntill their parents procured it, nor sue for a match before their freends made it, it were requisite their honestie should be great, or I knowe what will follow. Yet, againe, Fathers liue not now adaias ordinarily aboue a hundred yeeres, whereby they haue a long la²fing gouernement ouer their Children ; but beholde it is far contrary, and therefore it requires contrary proceedings. And lastly (for that I will not be long at this time in this matter), the holy writ beares not such sway in our consciences, as it workt wonders in theirs of those daies ; and therefore, to helpe our weaknes in the want of that warrant, we must vſe the meanes—loue—to drawe vs to that euerlasting happines.

[² sig. I 2]

But once more to my courting companions, to make as speedie an end with them, whose haire-braine fancyng and fickle affection is no small hindrance to loues proceedings. *Honestie*, hauing set downe the meanes to finde out their knauerie, hath also prouided a batte to beate downe such flatterie, the instruement to finde out their dissimulation being a search into their lingring, and the clubbe to match their clubbe feete, a loathing of their company. But to come to the punishment I would haue such to be plagued with: in my opinion, and by *Honesties* doome, they are worthie to be set for scarre-crowes in newe sownen fieldes; and the rather thus goes my iudgement, for that seeing they are so skilfull to doo harme in townes and cities, if that bad-used wit were forst to be employed about that commodious doo-good, they would inuent excellent meanes to preuent the spoyle the rauenous birds commit. Their pregnant wits and cunning deuices to catch womens affections, that farre excede crowes in reason and discretion, confirme they would be strange, and therefore profitable; yet, because it is somewhat too bace, though their practises are as beastly, I will ende with them with this resolution:—That they are as worthie to stand in white-sheeetes in Churches, for leauing women in desperate cases, hauing drawen them into that fooles paradice of ouer-passionate affection, as they that poyson strangers bellies; This would make faithfull sutors happie, constant louers ioyfull, and courting dissemblers feareful.

Honestie, hauing noted these enormities harbored in lewde dispositions shuffled into this Morrice, at last lent ¹ his eares, and bestowed [¹ sig. I 2, back] his eyes, ioyning with him his best vnderstanding, to search into the natures of the remnant, to see whether the multitud were mixed with these in bad conceits. But, behold, so contrarie practizes were performed by them, as those proceedings are disagreeing to the furtherance of perfect vnitie. Amongst these did I beholde *Loue* dandled with sweete musick, and constant affection vpholden with modest demeanour. The soueraignes of Virginitie displayed their heauenly dignitie, by the imperiall colours of matchles beautie, grounde with the *Ambrosian* oyle of celestiall courtesie; and the matronly deities proued their ethereall discretnes, in following the heauens pre-scription for Loues true imitation. I saw Kindenes matched with Goodwill, Affection linked vnto Liking, & *Loue* embraced with

Loyaltie, Vertue leading them to eternall happines. They liked not for a moment, loued not vpon aduantage, nor wooed but with a good intention. These shaked not hands with hatefull hearts, nor vsed smothe tonges with dissembling thoughts. They courted not kindly, to corrupt shamefully, ne protested with vowes, to wound with wordes, and kill with deeds; but hand and heart went together, and the tongue vttered their passionate conceites; their heart louing them as faithfully as their tongue labored to winne their courtesie. And you no earthly creatures, though ioyned with men for their eternall good (you heauenly saints, I meane, masking in the shadewes of terrestriall shapes), you beautifie this crue with your deuine motions, whose mindes are onely inrichted with the true wisdome that vpholdes Loues welfare. Your sacred actions ayde his simple followers, & naught but your carefull kindnes binds mens weake affections from vnconfstancie. You make their praiers effectuall, their request gayning through you the safetie of their longing. Your pittie brings them to pietie, and your almes relieves them from the captiuitie of Despaire. Destressed *Honestie* is soyl harbored within your milke-white bosomes, and were it not for your bountifull charitie, his end¹ would be tormenting beggerie. Your allablafter pappes do wholy minifter moisture to my consuming welfare, and from their sugerid teates doe I onely drawe my liquor of life, so that by your motherly kindnes to decaying *Honestie*, they reape likewise their blisse, that would giue mee my baine; recouering contrarie to their wils the remaynder of their weale. For how marcheth the passionate fouldier, without you found the alarome of his good-speede? or, how fareth the amorous gallant, except you play the galliard of acceptance? Vnfortunate eyes, your pearcing fightes shal be cruelly curst, and vnnaturall vsage shall be offered to your obedient hearts; for seeing and adoring celestiall obiects, vnles their relenting pittie take mercie on your destressed abiects. And blaspheming tongue, thy vnbridled impudencie shall heape vpon thy owne back a bundle of vntollerable miseries, by being forced to vtter execrable flaunders against them for their hard hearts, that were purchased to worke your hard happe through your owne iniurious follie. Passions of discontent must please your fancies, and sorrowfull poems must grace your musick; deep sighes must straine your heart-strings, and direfull forrowe lu²

[¹ sig. I 3]

you a sleepe, when visions of new destresses must disquiet your greatest happiness, and dreames of fresh vexations forbid you the least easse. You shall sue in vaine, because you haue delighted in vanitie ; and hope without obtaining, for that your heart haue harbored dissimbling, except these goddesSES, whose goodnes is vnspeakable, vouchsafe to minister a plaster of pitty to your louing pietie. It is their courtesie that must make you cherefule, and their good conceits must cherish your dying mirth ; their liking must honour your affection, and their gratafull kindnes must aduaunce the zeale of your protested loyaltie. It is in their choyse to change your chance, and in their power to bridle Fortune ; for that the Fates, being their sisters, are at their calles to set downe your destinies. If they say they doe hate you, beware, for they can hurt you ; but if they affirme they loue you, striue to con'tinue your present happiness, and feare to lose the prof-
ered blessednes. Why are women accounted weake, but because their nature is pure ? Or, wherefore are they necessarie, but that men cannot liue without their companie ? When we are succorles, they comfort vs ; being melancholy, they cheere vs ; and they are the meanes to redeeme vs from the gates of hell. Being mad, their musicall tongues chase away the euill spirits ; being bewitched, their loue charmes the tormenting diuels ; and being swallowed vp by the gulfe licentiousnes, the heauens haue created them the helpe to redeeme vs from that hellish furnace

[¹ sig. I 3.
back]

Thus much for their power ; & now, a little of their properties. O, sacred mercie (neuer more honored then in the pittifull bosomes of these feminine deities), thou holds thy chief harborow within their passionate bosomes, & only art nourished in their relenting harts. Thou singst within the closets of their pittifull consciences, & reioycest within the castles of their celestiall soules ; thou liuest with them secure, and makes through them multitudes of miserable wretches possessors of the highest happiness. Thou heares the sighes of suing sweet-hearts, & comforts the pinching grieve of pining louers. Thou meditates of their vowes, and studies to requite their carefull affection with kindest curtesie. Thou pittiest the foolish maladies of fond nouices, & sorrowest at the weaknes of many mens wisdome. Thou striuest to do no wrong, that thou maist be free from iniurie ; and labours to shunne suspect, that thou maist bee without misdoubt.

Thou studiest to repay, that thou maist reap thy due; and keepest thy day, that thou maist bee well dealt with. Yea, much more, and so much the better for man; thou pitties them that would spoile thee, and forgiues them that would hurt thee; thou wishest them well that would bereave thee of thy weale, & louest them (which is thy only fault), ouer entirely that esteeme of thy proffered kindnes too too carelesly. Yet let discretion haue the seconde place with you, for she guides them by reason, and that gouerns men with wisdome.

[¹: leaf I 4] She knowes when to charme with ¹ sweete melodie, and when to correct with louing perswasions; she vseth to dandle vertue, and reprove vice, to embrace good and flie from euill, and willingly to subiect obedient imitation to holsome counsell, as also dutifuly to desire libertie from stooping to iniurious doctrine. Shee searcheth into the depth of subiected seruise, and discouering whether it be offered of curtesie, or proffered of knauerie, regards it according to it value, and rewardes it with it full worth. She teacheth to like ere they loue, and louing to encrease, or deminish the heate of their fancie, according to the proportion of kinde coales that nourisheth the fire of their affection. She perswadeth to launce, courting to the bones to finde out the danger; and seeing what likelyhoode, either of weale or woe is likest to ensue; shee sheweth them what is good to withdrawe the putrified liking, and what is holsome to preferue the sound loue. And she studies to make them happie, by wishing men their welfare to make them constant, by endeuoring to encrease a sparke of loyaltie, and to make them honored by instructing them in the true rules of modestie.

And now step in further, thou beautifying modestie; for thou addest no small renoune to their adored natures, nor doth thy bashfulnes meanely adorne their highly prised excellencies; thy rosie blusshes bring no small honor to their admired beauty; nor euer dies that sacred stayning colour, vntil by mans corruption that maidenly marke be extinguished. Yet then (but, ah! that man should do so much!) thy decent sobrietie aduanceth the dignity of their womanly chastitie, and thy matronly behauour displayeth the soueraintie of their motherly nurture. Thou giues examples that, imitated, preuent occasions of enticing offers to draw to folly, and escapes the iniurious flanders of suspitious searchers, that hunt after shewes of sensuality. Thou main-

tainest peace at home, escapist suspect abroade, and keepest thy louers heart from harboring ielousie, the chiefe procurer of greatest miserie. And thou gainest liking, and encreasest affection, receiuing loue and loyaltie with an assu'red pledge of neuer-dying constancie. Neither {t leaf I 4, back} art thou, euerlasting goddes, a stranger to mens-helpers; for thou, with all the vertues, waite vpon these beautiful spectacles, and they, with the Graces, extol those the earths miracles. Their praises are vnspeakeable, for that their worth is vnualuable and their desartes vnrequited, because through mans weakenes misprised; but such and so great were the adorned excellencies of these humaine deities, as their practises layde open their princely courtesie, and their performances made their louers happie. And men reioyced through their faithfull affection; studying to requite womens euerlasting kindnes with the reward of neuer-ceasing constancie. Men vsed heauenly wisdome to obtaine liking, and carefull behauior to confirme loue being purchased; and women were forward to bestowe modest kindnes, being faithfully dealt withall, and effectually requited proffered curtesie; neither being too coye, or shewing themselues ouer forward to be wonne. But briefly, and so to end: every one of them rendred like for like with proofes of neuer-altering affection, they thereby gaining vnto themselv[e]s the sugred sweetnes of celestiall amitie, & tying vnto their kinde thoughts, the affections of their well-willers, with euerlasting constancie.

F I N I S.



T O M
T E L - T R O T H S
MESSAGE, AND
HIS PENS COM-
PLAINT.

*A worke not vnpleasant to be read,
nor vnprofitable to be fol-
lowed.*

Written by Jo. La. Gent.

Nullam in correcto crimine crimen erit.



L O N D O N .

Imprinted for *R. Howell*, and are to be sold at his shop,
neere the great North doore of Paules, at the signe of
the white horse. 1600.



[p. 5]

TO THE WORSIPFULL
MASTER George Dowse, GENTLE-
MAN, Io. La. WISHETH FRVITI-
on of endlesse felicitie.



F writings may quittance benefits or goodwill, more
then common curtesie, then accept, I beseech you,
these first fruoutes of my barren braine, the token of
my loue, the seale of my affection, and the true
cognizance of my vnfained affection. And for so-
much as the plot of my Pamphlet is rude, though true, the matter
meane, the manner meaner, let me humbly desire, though slenderly
I deserue, to haue it patronized vnder the wings of your fauour; in
requitall whereof I will be,

Yours euer to command,
Io. La.



TO THE GENTLEMEN
READERS.

I Vdiciall Readers, wise Apolloes flocke,
Whose eyes like keyes doe open learnings locke ;
Daigne with your eye-lampes to beheld this booke,
And in all curtesie thereon to looke :
Thus being patronized by your view,
I shall not be ashamed of his hew.

O graunt my suite, my suite you understand,
That I may you commend, you me command.

Io. La.

i

4

8





TOM TEL-TROTHS

Message, and his pens complaint.

[1]



hou that didst earst Romes Capitall defend, [p. 7] 1
Defend this sacred relique of thy wing,
And by thy power Diuine some succor send,
To sauе the same from carping *Momus* sting : 4
That, like a tell-troth, it may boldly blaze,
And pensill-like paint forth a iust dispraise. 6

[2]

Goe, naked pen, the hearts true secretarie, 7
Imbath'd in sable liquor mixt with gall,
And from thy master these rude verses carrie,
Sent to the world, and in the world, to all : 10
In mournfull verse lament the faults of men,
Doe this, and then returne heart-easing pen. 12

[3]

Time sits him downe to weepe in sorrowes fell, [p. 8] 13
And *Truth* bewailes mans present wickednes ;
Both *Time* and *Truth* a dolefull tale doe tell,
Deploring for mans future wretchednes. 16
With teare-bedewed cheeks, help, help therfore,
Sad tragicke muse, to weepe, bewaile, deplore. 18

[]

Mee thinks I see the ghost of *Conscience*, 19
Raisde from the darke graue of securitie,
Viewing the world, who once was banisht thence,
Her cheeks with teares made wet, with sighs made dry : 22
And this did agrauate her grieve the more,
To see the world much worse than twas before. 24

[5]

- She wept; I saw her weepe, and wept to see
The salt teares trickling from her aged eyes;
Yea, and my pen, copartner needs would be,
With black-inke teares, our teares to sympathize:
25
So long wee wept, that all our eyes were drie,
And then our tongues began aloud to crie.
28
30

[6]

- Come, sad *Melpomene*, thou tragicke Muse,
To beare a part in these our dolefull cries !
Spare not with taunting verses to accuse
The wicked world of his iniquities !

Tell him his owne ! be bold, and not ashamed,
Nor cease to speake till thou his faults hast blamed !

[7]

- I seeme to heare resounding Echoes tatling,
Of misdemeanors raaigning heere and there,
And party-coloured Pyes on greene bowes pratling,
Of foolish fashions raging euerie where :

Then blame not my muse, what so ere she say,
Sith birds and Echoes, mens fond faults bewray.

[8]

- O world, no world, but rather sinke of sinne,
Where blind and fickle Fortune Empresse raigneth ; 43
O men, no men, but swine that lie therein,
Among whom, vertue wrong'd by vice complaineth : 46
 Thus world bad, men worse, men in world, worldly men,
 Doe glue occasion to my plaintive pen. 48

[9]

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| Sinne, like the monstra <i>Hydra</i> , hath more heads, | [p. 10] 49 |
| Then heauens hie roofe hath siluer-spangled starres, | |
| And in his Iawes, ¹ mens soules to hell he leads, | [<i>orig.</i> lawes] |
| Where fierie fiends meeet them in flaming Charres : | 52 |
| This Pirate, like a Pilate, keepes each coast, | |
| Bringing his guests vnto their hellish hoast. | 54 |

[10]

- If all the earth were writing paper made, 55
 All plowshares pens, all furrowes lines in writing,
 The Ocean inke, wherein the sea-nimphes wade,
 And all mens consciences were scribes inditing :
 Too much could not be written of mans sinne,
 Since sinne did in the first man first begin. 60

[11]

- But as the *Ægyptian* dog runs on the brink 61
 Of Nilus seuen-fold ouer-flowing floud,
 And staying not, nowhere, nowhere doth drinke,
 For feare of Crocodiles which lurke in mudde : 64
 So shall my pen runne briefly ouer all,
 Reciting these misdeeds which worke mans thral. 66

[12]

- Nature, that whilome bore the chiefest sway, 67
 Bridling mans bodie with the raignes of Reason,
 Is now inforc'd in vncouth walkes to stray,
 Exilde by custome, which encrocht through treason : 70
 Instead of Art, Natures companion,
 Fancie with custome holdes dominion. 72

[13]

- Ouid* could testifie that, in his time, 73
Astraea fled from earth to heauen aboue,
 Loathing iniustice as a damned crime,
 Which she with equall poised schoales did proue : 76
 And this pen in my time shall iustifie,
 That true religion is constrainde to flie. 78

[14]

- The two leafe-dores of *quondam* honestie, 79
 Which on foure vertues Cardinall were turned,
 By Cardinals degree and poperie,
 Are now as heretike-like reliques burned : 82
 Now carnall vice, not vertue Cardinall,
 Plaies Christmas gambals in the Popes great hall. 84

[15]

- Well, sith the Popes name pops so fitly in, [p. 12] 85
 From Pope ile take the Latin P. away,
 And Pope shall with the Greeke π. then begin,
 Whose type and tippe that he may climbe ile pray : 88
 Pray all with mee that he may climbe this letter ;
 For in this praier each man is his detter. 90

[16]

- I passe not althrough with bell, booke, and candle, 91
 His bald-pate Priests and shoren Friers curse ;
 My plaintife pen, his rayling text shall handle :
 Nor doe I thinke my selfe one iot the worse : 94
 Yea, though my pen were in their Purgatorie,
 Yet should my pen hold on his plaintife storie. 96

[17]

- Oh, what a world is it for one to see, 97
 How Monkes and Friers would religious seeme ?
 Whose heads make humble congies to the knee,
 That of their humble minds all men might deeme : 100
 These be the sycophants, whose fained zeale
 Hath brought-in woe to euerie commonweale. 102

[18]

- The Monkes, like monkies, hauing long blacke tailes, [p. 13] 103
 Tell olde wiues tales to busie simple braines ;
 The baudie Friers do hunt to catch females,
 To shriue and free them from infernall paines. 106
 Thus Monkes and Friers, fire-brands of hell,
 Like to incarnate diuels with vs dwell. 108

[19]

- But I as loath, so will I leauie to write, 109
 Against this popish ribble rabble route,
 Hoping ere long some other will indite
 Whole volumes against their slander-bearers stout : 112
 Poets and Painters meane while shall descry,
 With pens and pencils, their hypocrisie. 114

[20]

- As thus my pen doth glance at euerie vice, 115
 Needs must I heare poore Learnings lamentation,
 Which whilome was esteem'd at highest price,
 But now reiecte is of euerie nation : 119
 She loueth men, yet is shee wrong'd by men ;
 Her wronged loue giues matter to my pen. 120

[21]

- Pallas, the nurse of Nature-helping Art, [p. 124] 121
 Whose babes are Schollers, and whose cradels, schooles,
 From whose milch teates no pupils would depart,
 Till they by cunning shund the names of fooles : 124
 Shē, euen she, wanders in open streetes,
 Seeking for schollers, but no schollers meetes. 126

[22]

- Englands two eyes, Englands two Nurceries, 127
 Englands two nests, Englands two holy mounts,
 I meane, Englands two Vniuersities,
 Englands two Lamps, Englands two sacred founts, 130
 Are so puld at, puld out, and eke puld downe,
 That they can scarce maintaine a wide sleeu'd gowne. 132

[23]

- Lately as one CAME ore a BRIDGE, he saw 133
 An Oxe stand ore a FORDE to quench his drouth :
 But lo, the Oxe his dry lips did withdraw,
 And from the water lifted vp his mouth. 136
 Like Tantalus, this drie Oxe there did stand :
 God grant this darke *Ænigma* may be scand ! 138

[24]

- The Liberall Sciences, in number seauen, [p. 135] 139
 Which, in seauen ages, like seauen Monarchs raigned,
 And shin'd on earth as Planets seauen in heauen,
 Are now like Almesfolkes beggerly maintained, 142
 Whilst in their roome, seauen deadly sins beare sway,
 Which makes these seauen Arts, like seauen slaves obey. 144

[25]

- Grammer*, the ground and strong foundation 145
 Vpon which Lady Learning builds her tower;
Grammer, the path-way and direction
 That leadeth vnto *Pallas* sacred bower, 148
 Stands bondslane-like, of Stationers to be sold,
 Whom all in free Schooles erst might free behold. 150

[26]

- Add *Rhetoricke*, adornde with figures fine, 151
 Trickt vp with tropes, and clad in comely speech,
 Is gone a Pilgrime to the Muses nine,
 For her late wrong assistance to beseech. 154
 Now rich Curmudgions, best orations make,
 Whilst in their pouches gingling coyne they shake. 156

[27]

- Logicke*, which like a whetstone sharpes the braine, [p. 16] 157
Logicke, which like a touch-stone tries the minde,
Logicke, which like a load-stone erst drew gaine,
 Is now for want of maintenance halfe pinde; 160
 And sith in Colledges no maides may dwell,
 Many from Colledges doe her expell. 162

[28]

- Musicke*, I much bemoigne thy miserie, 163
 Whose well-tunde notes delight the Gods aboue,
 Who, with thine eare-bewitching melodie,
 Doest vnto men and beasts such pleasure moue: 166
 Though wayling cannot helpe, I wayle thy wrong,
 Bearing a part with thee in thy sad song. 168

[29]

- Arithmeticke*, she next in number stands, 169
 Numbring her cares in teaching how to number;
 Which cares, in number passing salt-sea sands,
 Disturbe her minde, and still her corps incumber: 172
 Care addeth grieve, grieve multiplies her woe,
 Whose ebbe subtracting, brings reducing floe. 174

[30]

- Geometrie*, as seruile prentise bound
 Vnto the Mother earth for many yeares,
 Hath long since meated out the massie ground,
 Which ground the impression of her foot-steps beares. [p. 17] 175
- Great was her labour, great should be her gaine
 But her great labour was repaid with paine. 178

[31]

- Astronomie*, not least though last, hath lost
 By cruell fate her starre-embroidred coate ;
 Her spherie globe in dangers seas is lost,
 And in mishap her instruments doe floate : 181
- All Almanacks hereof can witnesse beare,
 Else would my selfe hereof as witnesse sweare. 184

[32]

- But how should I with stile poeticall
 Proceede to rime in meeter or in verse ?
 If Poetrie, the Queene of verses all,
 Should not be heard, whose plaint mine care doth pierce ? 187
- Oh helpe, *Apollo*, with apologie,
 To blaze her vndeserued iniurie. 190

[33]

- Horace* did write the Art of Poetrie,
 The Art of Poetrie *Virgill* commended ; [p. 18] 193
- Ouid* thereto his studies did applie,
 Whose life and death, still Poetrie defended.
 Thrice happie they, but thrice vnhappy I,
 They sang her praise, but I her iniurie. 196

[34]

- O princely Poetrie, true Prophetesse,
 Perfections patterne, Matrone of the Muses,
 I weepe to thinke how rude men doe oppresse
 And wrong thine Art with their absurd abuses. 199
- They are but drosse, thine Art it is diuine,
 Cast not therefore thy pearls to such swine. 202

204

[35]

- The sugred songs that sweete Swannes vse to sing, 205
 Floting adowne *Meanders* siluer shore,
 To countrie swaines no kinde of solace bring ;
 The winding of an horne they fancie more. 208
 No marueil then though Ladie Poetrie
 Doe suffer vndeserued iniurie. 210.

[36]

- Like to *Batillus*, euery ballet-maker, [p. 19] 211
 That neuer climb'd vnto *Pernassus* Mount,
 Will so incroach, that he will be partaker
 To drinke with *Maro* at the *Castale* fount. 214
 Yea, more then this, to weare a lawrell Crowne
 By penning new gigges for a countrie clowne. 216

[37]

- When *Marsias* with his bagpipes did contend 217
 To make farre better Musicke then *Apollo* :
 When *Thameras* in selfe conceit would mend
 The Muses sweete songs note, what then did follow ? 220
 Convictid both, to both this was assignde :
 The first was hangd, the last was stroken blinde. 222

[38]

- And may it happen to those bastard braines, 223
 Whose base rimes striue to better Poetrie,
 That they may suffer like deserued paines,
 For these be they that worke her infamie. 226
 Thus hauing blazed false Poets in their hew,
 Deare Poetrie (though loth) I bid adiew. 228

[39]

- As Poetrie in poesie I leave, 229
 I see seauen sinnes which crost seauen Liberall Arts,
 Which with their fained shew doe men deceave,
 And on the wide worlds stage doe play their parts : 232
 As thus men follow them, they follow men,
 They moue more matter to my plaintife pen. 234

[40]

- These mincing maides and fine-trict truls, ride post 235
 To *Plutoes* pallace, like purueyers proude ;
 Thither they leade many a damned ghost,
 With howling consorts carroling aloude : 238
 And as one after one they post to hell,
 My plaintife pen shall their abuses tell. 240

[41]

- First praunceth Pride with principalitie,
 Guarded with troupes of new-found fashions : 241
 Her hand-maides are Fancie and Vanitie :
 These three a progresse goe throughout all nations ; 244
 And as by any towne they passe along,
 People to see them gather in a throng. 246

[42]

- Now fine-ruft Ruffines in their brauerie [p 21] 247
 Make cringing cuts with new inuention :
 New-cut at Cardes brings some to beggarie,
 But this new-cut brings most vnto destruction : 250
 So long they cut, that in their purse no groate
 They leauie, but cut some others purse or throate. 252

[43]

- Bedawbd with gold like *Apuleius Asse*, 253
 Some princk and pranck it : others, more precise,
 Full trick and trim tir'd in the looking-glasse,
 With strange apparell doe themselues disguise. 256
 But could they see what others in them see,
 Follie might flie, and they might wiser bee. 258

[44]

- Some gogle with the eyes, some squint-eyd looke,
 Some at their fellowes, squemish sheepes-eyes cast, 259
 Some turne the whites vp, some looke to the foote,
 Some winke, some twinke, some blinke, some stare as fast. 262
 The summe is infinite ; eye were a detter,
 If all should answer I, with I the letter. 264

[45]

- Many desire to foote it with a grace, [p. 22] 265
 Or Lion-like to walke maiesticall :
 But whilst they striue to keepe an equipage,
 Their gate is foolish and phantasticall.
 As Hobby-horses, or as Anticks daunce,
 So doe these fooles vnseemely seeme to praunce. 268
 270

[46]

- I will not write of sweatie, long, shag haire,
 Or curled lockes with frisled periwigs : 271
 The first, the badge that Ruffins vse to weare,
 The last, the cognisance of wanton rigs. 274
 But sure I thinke, as in *Medusaes* head,
 So in their haires, are craulling Adders bred. 276

[47]

- Men, *Proteus*-like, resemble euery shape,
 And like Camelions euery colour faine ;
 How deare so ere, no fashion may escape
 The hands of those whose gold may it attaine : 277
 Like ebbe and flow, these fashions goe and come,
 Whose price amounteth to a massie summe. 282

[48]

- The sharp-set iawes of greedie sheeres deuoure, [p. 23] 283
 And seaze on euery cloath as on a pray,
 Like *Atropose* cutting that in an houre,
 Which weauers *Lachese*-like wrought in a day. 286
 These snip-snap sheeres, in al shieres get great shares,
 And are partakers of the dearest wares. 288

[49]

- When fig-tree leaues did shroude mans nakednesse,
 And home-spun cloath was counted clothing gay,
 Then was mans bodie clad with comelinesse,
 And honour shrouded was in rude array : 289
 But since those times by future times were changed,
 Thousands of fashions through the world haue ranged. 292
 294

[50]

- Ambitious thoughts, hearts haughtie, mindes aspiring, 295
 Proud lookes, fond gates, and what not vndescreete,
 As seruants waite, mens bodie still atyng
 With far-fetcht gewgawes for yong children meete : 298
 Wherewith whilst they themselues doe daily decke,
 Brauado-wise they scorne to brooke the checke. 300

[51]

- Some couet winged sleeues like *Mercurie*, [p. 24] 301
 Others, round hose much like to Fortunes wheele
 (Noting thereby their owne vnconstancie),
 Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach their heele. 304
 These Apish trickes vsde in their daily weedes,
 Bewray phantasticke thoughts, fond words, foule deedes. 306

[52]

- Bold Bettresse braues and brags it in her wiers, 307
 And buskt she must be, or not bust at all :
 Their riggish heads must be adornd with tires,
 With Periwigs, or with a golden Call. 310
 Tut, tut, tis nothing in th'Exchange to change
 Monthly, as doth the Moone, their fashions strange. 312

[53]

- It seemes, strange birds in England now are bred, 313
 And that rare fowles in England build their nest,
 When Englishmen with plumes adorne their head,
 As with a Cocks-combe or a Peacocks crest. 316
 These painted plumes, men in their caps doe weare,
 And women in their hands doe trickly beare. 318

[54]

- Perhaps some women being foule, doe vse [p. 25] 319
 Fowles feathers to shroude their deformitie :
 Others perchance these plumes doe rather chuse,
 From weather and winde to shield their phisnomie. 322
 But whilst both men and women vse these feathers,
 They are deem'd light as feathers, winde and weathers. 324

[55]

- Some dames are pumpt, because they liue in pompe, 325
 That with *Herodias* they might nimblly daunce,
 Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,
 And most in corked shooes doe nicely praunce. 328
 But here I doubtfull stand, whether to blame
 The shoomakers, or them that weare the same. 330

[56]

- In countrie townes, men vse fannes for their corne, 331
 And such like fannes I cannot discommend :
 But in great cities, fannes by truls are borne,
 The sight of which doth greatly God offend. 334
 And were it not I should be deem'd precise,
 I could approue these fond fann'd fooles vnwise. 336

[57]

- A Painter lately with his pensill drew [p. 26] 337
 The picture of a Frenchman and Italian,
 With whom he plac'd the Spaniard, Turk, and Iew ;
 But by himselfe he sat the Englishman. 340
 Before these laughing, went *Democritus*,
 Behinde these weeping, went *Heraclitus*. 342

[58]

- All these in comely vestures were atired, 343
 According to the custome of their land,
 The Englishman excepted, who desired
 With others feathers, like a Iay to stand. 346
 Thus whilst he seeketh forraine brauerie,
 He is accused of vnconstancie. 348

[59]

- Some call him Ape, because he imitates ; 349
 Some foole, because he fancies euery bable ;
 Some liken him to fishes caught with baites,
 Some to the winde, because he is vnstable. 352
 Then blame him not, although against Englishmen,
 This Englishman writ with his plaintife pen. 354

[60]

- But hush ! no more ; enough's enough ; fie, fie,
Wilt thou thy countries faults in verse compile ?
Desist betimes, least thou *peccauit* crie,
For no bird, sure, his owne nest will defile. [p. 27] 355
- Well, sith thou brak'st his head, and mad'st a sore,
With silence give a salve, and write no more. 358

[61]

- The world began, and so will end, with Pride ;
With Pride this poynt began, with Pride it ends :
And whilst in pleasures Chariot she doth ride,
My plaintife pen, page-like still by her wends. 361
- Thus hauing painted out Prides roysting race,
At this poynts end, a periods poynt I place. 364

[62]

- Now pyning Enuie whining doth appearare,
With bodie leane, with visage pale and wan,
With withered face, and with vnkeamed haire ;
She doth both fret and fume, sweare, curse, and ban : 367
- She fareth ill, when other men fare well,
Others prosperitie is made her hell. 370

[63]

- She peepes and pries into all actions,
And she is neuer well but when she iarres : [p. 28] 373
- She is the mother of all factions,
She broacheth quarrels, and increaseth warres : 376
- Anger is hot, and wrath doth roughly rage,
But nothing, Enuies heating hate can swage. 378

[64]

- This Trull inticed *Pompey* to contend,
And with great *Caesar* ciuill warres to moue : 379
- This dame allured kings their liues to spend
In bloodie broyles, and braules deuoyd of loue : 381
- Incensing subiects against their gouernours,
Sonnes against Sires, Captiues against Conquerors. 384

[65]

- As Iron doth consume it selfe with rust, 385
 By eating which, it selfe it still doth eate,
 So doth the enuious man soone come to dust,
 And doth consume himselfe whilst he doth fret. 388
 Thus Enuie still conspires to end his life,
 That liuing with another, liues at strife. 390

[66]

- We reade that Enuie twixt two men did grow, [p. 29] 391
 And that the one of them one eye would lose,
 So that he might pluck both eyes from his foe,
 And plucking both eyes out, his eyes might close. 394
 O who would thinke, a man should beare the minde
 To lose one eye, to make another blinde ! 396

[67]

- What trade so base but there is Enuie in it, 397
 When Minstrels with blinde Fidlers daily strive ?
 What strife is there, but Enuie doth begin it,
 When iusling Iacks, to walls their betters drue ? 400
 The truth hereof I shall not neede to sweare,
 Sith *Hesiode* old hereof doth witnesse beare. 402

[68]

- What is the cause that many mop and moe, 403
 That many scoffe, and scorne, and gibe, and iest,
 With rimes and riddles rating at their foe,
 Flouting the base, and powting at the best ? 406
 What is the cause ? the cause one line shall show :
 Enuie is cause, which in mens hearts doth grow. 408

[69]

- Knowledge, within the hart of man doth dwell ; [p. 30] 409
 And loue, within the liuer builds his nest :
 But Enuie, in the gall of man doth swell,
 And playes the rebell in his boyling breast. 412
 O would to God men had no gall at all,
 That Enuie might not harbour in the gall ! 414

and his pens complaint.

125

[70]

- Enuie and Charitie together stroue 415
Which of them two a man should entertaine :
The one with spight, the other sought with loue ;
The first in gall, the last in hart would raigne : 418
So long they stroue, that Enuie lost the field,
And Charitie made Enuie captiue yeeld. 420

[71]

- Enuie, adiew, and welcome Charitie,
The bond of peace and all perfection,
The way that leades to true felicitie,
Filling the soule with most diuine refection. 424

Enuie shall goe, Ile cleave vnto thy lore,
Thee will I serue, and thee will I adore. 425

[72]

- Next followes Wrath, Enuies fierce fellow-mate, [p. 31] 427
 Attired in a roring Lions skin,
 Iterting along with a giant-like gate,
 Which aye a tyrant terrible hath bin. 430
 A butcher like, within his hands doth beare
 Their harts, which he with woluish teeth doth teare. 432

[73]

- | | |
|--|-----|
| Wrath moued <i>Herod</i> with blood-thirstie hart To slaughter infants from their mothers brest Like lambes scarce ean'd, or doues new-hatcht to part, And with liues losse to leaue both damme and nest. | 433 |
| O, had King <i>Herod</i> knowne what would ensue, He had not done what he did after rue. | 436 |

[74]

- He shed their blood ; their blood did vengeance craue ; 439
 They first too soone, he last too late did dye ;
 They led the way, he followed to the graue ;
 Both they and he a pray for wormes did lye. 442
 Yet thus they differ, wormes them dead did eat,
 But him aliue, the wormes did make their meate. 444

[75]

- Wrath in *Caligulaes* mad head did grow, [p. 32] 445
 Making him wish that Rome had but one head,
 That he might smite off that head at a blow,
 Whose pompe he saw, like many heads to spread : 448
 But whilst he thought Romes heads in one to lop,
 Romes heads in one, his flower of life did crop. 450

[76]

- Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meeete 451
 (Which may be called smite-field properly);
 Wrath is the cause that maketh euery streete
 A shambles, and a bloodie butcherie, 454
 Where roysting ruffins quarrell for their drabs,
 And for sleight causes, one the other stabs. 456

[77]

- Wrath puffes men vp with mindes Thrasonicall, 457
 And makes them braue it braggadocio-like :
 Wrath maketh men triumph Tyrannicall,
 With sword, with shield, with gunne, with bill and pike : 460
 Yea, now adaiers Wrath causeth him to dye
 That to his fellow dares to giue the lye. 462

[78]

- Mars* is the Chieftaine of this wrathfull host, [p. 33] 463
 Whose embrewd standard is with blood dyed red ;
 Of many he spares few, and kils the most,
 And with their corps his bloodie panch is fed. 466
 Tara tantara, sa, sa, kill, kill, he cries,
 Filling with blood the earth, with srikes the skies. 468

[79]

- Wraths fierce fore-runner is Timeritie, 469
 And after Wrath Repentance shortly followes :
 The first rides gallop into miserie,
 The last procures sadnes, despayre, and sorrow. 472
 Who therefore doe desire to liue at rest,
 Let them not harbour wrath within their brest. 474

[80]

- Wraths contrarie is Lady Patience, 475
 Who conquers most when she is conquered,
 She teacheth beasts that they by common sence
 Might teach to vanquish, being vanquished.
 Rammes running back with greater force returne,
 And Lime most hot, in most cold springs doth burne. 480

[81]

- Patience, a cosin hath calde Sufferance, [p. 34] 481
 Neerely akind, because she is so kinde ;
 She is most like a Doue in countenance,
 And like an Angell in her humble minde ; 484
 All Phænix-like she is but rarely found,—
 Would God she might be seene on English ground,— 486

[82]

- Then naked swords themselves would neuer cloath 487
 With wounded skinnes of men whom men did maime ;
 Then quarrellers would, after quaffing, loath
 With stabs and strokes to kill or make men lame.
 Then, then I say, swords might in scabberts sleepe,
 And some might laugh which are constrainde to weepe. 492

[83]

- As thus my pen, writing of Vice, spares none, 493
 It brings into my sight a lazie Gill,
 A sleeping sluggard and a drowsie drone,
 Which snorts and snores, and euer sitteth still : 496
 Some call her Sloth, some call her Idlenesse,
 A friend to neede, a foe to wealthinesse. 498

[84]

- They tearme her Mother of all other vices, [p. 35] 499
 Bearing a spawne of many new-bred sinnes :
 Many she lures, and many she entices,
 Whereof most part is trapped in her ginnes : 502
 She is the But at which foule Lust doth shoothe,
 And where she toucheth, there she taketh roote. 504

[85]

- I once did heare of one *Lipotopo* 505
 (Whose pace was equall with the shell-housde snaile)
 That to a fig-tree lasily did go,
 Whose broad-leau'd branches made a shady vaile : 508
 Thither this lusking lubber softly creped,
 And there this lazie lizard soundly sleeped. 510

[86]

- But as one *Goffo* by the fig-tree went, 511
 He wakened him from out his drowsie sleepe,
 And earnestly did aske him what he ment,
 Vnder that fig-tree all alone to keepe. 514
 As thus he did *Lipotopo* awake,
 Yawning and gaping, thus he idly speake : 516

[87]

- Good friend, it is a paine for me to speake, [p. 36] 517
 Because I vse nothing but only sleeping :
 Yet vnto thee my minde Ile shortly breake,
 And shew the cause of my here daily keeping : 520
 The cause is this; that when these ripe figgis fall,
 My gaping mouth might then receiuie them all. 522

[88]

- As thus he speake, *Goffo* from off the tree 523
 Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it ;
 Which when he gan to feele, my friend (quoth he),
 I pray thee stirre my iawes that I may glut it. 526
 Goffo, admiring this his lazinesse,
 Left him as he him found, in idlenesse. 528

[89]

- O would my pen were now a pensill made, 529
 And I, a Poet, might a Painter bee,
 That picture-like this patterne might be laide
 Before mens eyes, that it their eyes might see ; 532
 By which they, seeing Sloths deformitie,
 Might flie from sloth, and follow industrie. 534

[90]

- Now doth appeare dame niggard Auarice, [p. 37] 535
 Who, being loden with gold, gapes for gold :
 She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,
 And in Cheapside makes nothing chaepe be sold,
 Which coyne, her chests fild full, fulfill her eye,
 Whilst poore folkes perish in great miserie. 538
 540

[91]

- She hath been troubled long with one disease, 541
 Which some a Dropsie call, or drouth of gaine ;
 She drinkeſ and drinkes againe, yet cannot ease
 Her thirstie sicknesse and her greedie paine :
 Still is she sicke, yet is she neuer dead,
 Because her sicknesse still is nourished. 544
 546

[92]

- Her bodie grosse, engrosseth all the corne,
 And of the grosseſt wares makes greatest gaine :
 Yea, Grocers now adaies, as men forlorne,
 Auerre that they gaſt her haue cause to plaine :
 Yet doth ſhe liue, yet doth ſhe tyrannize,
 Because her coyne her works doth wantantize. 550
 552

[93]

- This Auarice a cosin-germane hath, [p. 38] 553
 Which many Londoners call Vſurie,
 Which like a braue comptroller boldly ſaith,
 She will bring England into miserie,
 Who, vnder colour of a friendly lending,
 Seemes of her bad trade to make iuft defending. 556
 558

[94]

- They hand in hand doe walke in euery ſtreete,
 Making the proudest Caualiers to ſtoope :
 If with their debtors they doe chaunce to meeete,
 They pen them vp within the *Poultries* coope.
 And if for gold lent, men would counters pay,
 In Woodſtreets Counter there them fast they lay. 559
 562
 564

[95]

- Now Charitie, which is the band of peace, 565
 Is turned to a Scriueners scribbling-band,
 To *Indentura facta*, or a lease,
 To racking houses, tenements and land : 568
 All this can gold, all this can siluer do,
 And more then this, if neede require thereto. 570

[96]

- From whence comes gold, but from the earth below ? [p. 39] 571
 Whereof, if not of earth, are all men made ?
 Like will to like, and like with like will grow ;
 Growing they florish, florishing they fade. 574
 But where are gold and men ? in hell ; wher's hell ?
 On earth, where gold and men with gold do dwell. 576

[97]

- The prouerbe old I doe approue most true, 577
 Better to fill the bellie then the eye :
 For whilst rich misers feedes on monies view,
 Sparing they liue in wilfull penurie : 580
 Yea, more then this, they liue vpon a crust,
 Whilst in their heaped bags their gold doth rust. 582

[98]

- Come, plaintife pen, and whip them with thy rod, 583
 And plainly tell them their Idolatrie,
 Which make their gold their loue, their life, their god,
 Which with their gold desire to liue and die. 586
 Tell them, if to no better vse they turne
 Their gold, they with their gold in hell shall burne. 588

[99]

- Thus leauing Vsurie and Auarice, [p. 40] 589
 As Sathans limmes, or fire-brands of hell,
 As rauening wolues that liue by preuidice,
 Or greedie hogs that on mens grounds do dwell : 592
 I post to that which I had almost past,
 But nowe haue ouertaken at the last. 594

[100]

- The name of her whom heere I meeete withall
Is Gluttonie, the mother of excesse,
Which, making daintie feasts, doth many call
To eate with her the meate that she did dresse : 595
Who being set to eate her toothsome meat,
Eating doth eate and neuer cease to eate. 600

[101]

- This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie
In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
To spend their substance vpon whorish mates : 601
That by their lauish prodigalitie
She may maintaine her fleshly vanitie. 606

[102]

- With gobs she fils and stuffes her greedie gorge, [p. 41] 607
And neuer is her gaping stomacke fed,
Bits vnchaw'de in her bulke, as in a forge,
Kindle the coales whereof foule lust is bred : 610
Thus doe we see how lazie gluttonie
Comforts her selfe with Ladie Lecherie. 612

[103]

- One other mate she hath, call'd Dronkennesse, 613
A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,
Which neuer drinks but with excessiuenesse,
And drinke so long vntill her paunch is full ; 616
She drinke as much as she can well containe,
Which being voyded, then she drinke againe. 618

[104]

- But when the drinke doth worke within her head, 619
She rowles and reekes, and pimpers with the eyes ;
She stamps, she stares, she thinks white black, black red,
She teares and sweares, she geeres, she laughs and cries ; 622
And as her giddie head thinks all turnes round,
She belching fals, and vomits on the ground. 624

[105]

- Some men are drunke, and being drunke will fight; [p. 42] 625
 Some men are drunke, and being drunke are merrie;
 Some men are drunke, and secrets bring to light;
 Some men are drunke, and being drunke are sorie:
 Thus may we see that drunken men haue passions,
 And drunkennesse hath many foolish fashions. 628

[106]

- Fishes that in the seas doe drinke their fill, 631
 Teach men by nature to shun drunkennesse.
 What bird is there, that with his chirping bill
 Of any liquour euer tooke excesse?
 Thus beastes on earth, fish in seas, birds in skie,
 Teach men to shun all superfluitie. 634

[107]

- Would any heare the discommodities 637
 That doe arise from our excesse of drinke?
 It duls the braine, it hurts the memorie,
 It blinds the sight, it makes men bleare-eyd blinke;
 It kils the bodie, and it wounds the soule;
 Leauie, therefore, leauie, O leauie this vice so foule! 642

[108]

- Now, last of all, though perhaps chiefe of all, [p. 43] 643
 My pen hath hunted out lewde Lecherie,
 Which many sinnes and many faults doth call.
 To bee pertakers to her trecherie:
 Her loue is lust, her lust is sugred sower,
 Her paine is long, her pleasure but a flower. 646

[109]

- When chast *Adonis* came to mans estate, 649
Venus straight courted him with many a wile;
Lucrece once seene, straight *Tarquine* laid a baite,
 With foule incest her bodie to defile:
 Thus men by women, women wrongde by men,
 Giuie matter still vnto my plaintife pen. 652

654

[110]

- Thousands of whores maintained by their wooers, 655
 Entice by land, as Syrens doe by Seas,
 Which, being like path-waies or open doores,
 Infect mens bodies with the French disease : 658
 Thus women, woe of men, though wooed by men,
 Still adde new matter to my plaintife pen. 660

[111]

- Whilome by nature men and women loued, [p. 44] 661
 And prone enough they were to loue thereby ;
 But when they *Ouids ars amandi* proued,
 Both men and women fell to lecherie : 664
 By nature sining, art of sinne was found
 To make mans sinne still more and more abound. 666

[112]

- If that I could paint out foule lecherie 667
 In her deformed shape and loathsome plignt,
 Or if I could paint spotlesse Chastitie
 In her true portraiture and colours bright, 670
 I thinke no maid would euer proue an whore,
 But euerie maid would chastitie adore. 672

[113]

- Then maried men might vild reproaches scorne, 673
 And shunne the Harts crest to their hearts content,
 With *cornucopia*, Cornewall, and the horne,
 Which their bad wiues bid from their bed be sent : 676
 Then should no olde-Cocks, nor no cocke-olds crow,
 But euerie man might in his owne ground sow. 678

[114]

- Then light-taylde huswiues, which like *Syrens* sing, [p. 45] 679
 And like to *Circles* with their drugs enchant,
 Would not vnto the Banke-sides round-house fling,
 In open sight, themselues to show and vaunt : 682
 Then, then, I say, they would not masked goe,
 Though vnseene, to see those they faine would know. 684

[115]

- But in this Labyrinth I list not tread, 685
 Nor combate with the minotaure-like lust ;
 Hence therefore will I wend by methods thread,
 And wend I will, because needs wend I must : 688
 Farewell, nay fare-ill, filthie lecherie,
 And welcome vndefiled chastitie. 690

[116]

- Vesta*, I do adore thy puritie, 691
 And in thy Temples will I tapers beare ;
 Thou, O *Diana*, for virginitie,
 Shalt be the matrone of my modest feare, 694
 That both in one, both beeing Goddesses,
 May of my maden-head be witnesses. 696

[117]

- O may my flesh, like to the Ermiline, [p. 46] 697
 Vnspotted liue, and so vnspotted die,
 That when I come before the sacred shrine,
 My vntoucht corps themselves may guiltlesse trie ; 700
 Then shall I glorie that I haue bin taught
 To shun the snare wherein most folkes are caught. 702

[118]

- Thus hath my pen described, and descriy'd, 703
 Sinne with his seuen heads of seauen deadly vices,
 And now my plaintife pen hath verified
 That sinne, from vertue, mortall men entices : 706
 If any wicked *Momus* carpe the same,
 In blaming this, I passe not for his blame. 708

[119]

- Dictator-like I must confesse I write, 709
 And like a *Nomothetes* criticall,
 Perhaps my pen doth crabedly endite
 In plaintife humors meerely Cinicall : 712
 But sooth to say, *Tom-teltroth* will not lie,
 We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie. 714

and his pens complaint.

135

[120]

And for because my pen doth liquor want,
Heere (being drie) he willing is to rest,
Not for that he doth further matter want,
For so to thinke, were but a simple iest :

[p. 47] 715

And if (as he hath not) he haue offended,
He hopes (as you) so he wilbe amended.

718

720

Finis.

TOM of All Trades.
OR
THE PLAINE
PATH-VVAY TO
PREFERMENT.

BEING
A Discovery of a passage to Promotion
in all Professions, Trades, Arts, and
Mysteries.

Found out by an old Travailer in the sea of
Experience, amongst the enchanted Islands
of ill Fortune.

Now published for Common good.

By
THOMAS POVVELL.

Summum hominis bonum bonus ex hac vita exitus.



L O N D O N .

Printed by *B. Alsop* and *T. Fawcet*, for *Benjamen Fisher*,
and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the
Talbot in *Aldersgate-street.* 1631.

[*Bodleian Press-marks* :—4 : T. 34. Art, and Douce PP. 202.]



The Epistle Dedicatore.

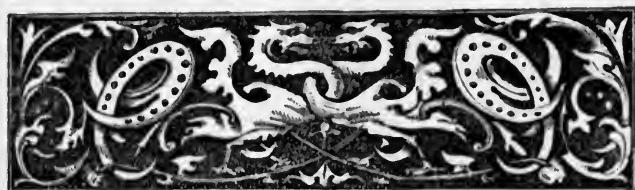
Poore TOM was set on shore in Kent,
And to the next good Towne hee went ;
At whose approach the Bosseldir
Kept a most lamentable stirre, 4.
That TOM would offer to returne
Through the good Towne of Syttingborne.
Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe ?
And told him what the Statute was ; 8.
And like a Reverend Vestry wit
Swore hee would not allow of it,
But did advise him to resort
To fetch his Passe at Tonstall Court. 12.
Our TOM of all Trades hereupon
Askt what was his conditōn
Who was the Owner of that place,
So farre in all the Countries grace ? 16.
For whom (as hee walkt on the way)
He heard the poore so much to pray,
The Rich to praise ; And both contend,
To whom hee was the greater friend. 20.
Didst never meete his name there spread
Where thou thy selfe didst vse to tread ?
² No ? not Sir EDVVARD HALES ? Quoth he ;
What TOM of Odcombe mayst thou be ? 24.
Hee is a man scarce spends a minute
But hath his Countries service in it ;

Spends more to make them all accord,
 Then other Knights doe at their boord. 28
 Hee call'd him Knight and Barronet,
 Both wise and Iust; And what more yet?
 He swore that if hee were but mist,
 The Countrey could not so subsist. 32
 With that our TOM repaired thither,
 Conferr'd Report and Proefe together;
 And found Report had wrong'd him much
 In giving but an out-side touch,— 36
 A tincture of a Painters trade,
 Where all was substance and in-layd.
 Then TOM resolv'd to walke no farther
 To finde a Father or a Mother; 40
 No other Patron would hee seeke,
 But tender all at this Knights feete:
 If hee accept what's well intended,
 Our TOM of all Trades travaille's ended. 44
 Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.

THO: POVVELL.

[This text, though copied from the *Douce* copy in the Bodleian, has now been collated with 4 : T. 34. Art. Variations in the *Douce* copy :—

- p. 137, l. 4, It it true
- p. 143, l. 3 *from the bottom*, gift
- ,, *last line*, incumbent (with small *i*).
- p. 144, l. 2, Dilecct
- ,, l. 14, Alchermi
- ,, l. 16, Parsonadge
- ,, *last line but 2*, immedately
- p. 146, *last line but 2*, Canticluerum
- ,, *last line but 1*, Yf
- p. 147, l. 4, Person
- ,, l. 10, for Induction.
- ,, l. 12, peculiar.]



TOM *of all Trades:*
OR
THE PLAINE PATH-
WAY TO PREFERMENT.

(. .)

IRINITY Terme was now ended²; For by description of the time it could bee no other parcell of the yeare. In that the Scriveners at *Temple-larre* had no imployment, but writing of blanke Bonds and texting of Bills for letting of Chambers in *Chancery-lane*. The Vintners of *Fleetstreet* discharged theyr Journeymen; A generall humility more then usuall possest the Cookery of *Ram-Alley*. The Ostlers of *Holborne* had more than ordinary care to lay up theyr Ghuests bootes, rather for feare of theyr slipping out of Towne than for any good observance towards them. And your Countrey Attorneys would no longer by any ³meanes endure the vnwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinarie. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his Horse out of the stable, strove who should first be gone. And amongst the rest, my selfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse *Overcount* mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of *Highgate* hill I overtooke a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, riding homeward, whom I well knew; Him I saluted cheerefully, and he received me lovingly. But in travayling together (Me thought) he was not Master of that mirthfull disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his

¹ page 1.

² In June.

³ page 2.

house and *London*. I gave him to vnderstand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; And withall desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartible to a freind of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from *London* (It is true), from the Terme (It is certaine true), from *London* and Terme. True and certaine in nothing but expences in all things; yet I would have you know that it is neither the Thunderclap of dissolving an *Iniunction*, nor the Doomesday of a *Decree*, nor Counsylors *Fees*, nor Attornies *Bylls*, in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my deare friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me vp into the very Spheare, where *Ioue* himselfe sits to bid all his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember mee of Children, sixe Soones and ¹three daughters, of whom I am the vnhappy Father. In that, besides the scars which my vnthriftines hath dinted vpon their fortunes, the wounds of vnequall times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all hope of outliuing the low water ebbe of the evill day; all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study, or industry are bereft them. The common vpon which industry should depasture is overlayd; Numerousnes spoiles all, And poverty sells all at an vnder value.

In this case (Sir) what can be aduisd? Wherevnto I thus replyed.

Sir, I haue heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true and even levell of the declencion of arts, the distent of trades & trading, the poverty of all professions, and the des temper, not of ours only, but of all Christian clymates at this present, tending rather to a more contagion in the generall ayre then a calmer temparament (for ought that yet appeareth): as for the stormynesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domestick, let vs leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it vnto the proper Pylates, Masters, and Marryners, who have the charge to attend the line or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure our selues to partake in their boone voyage, if they suc[c]eed well,—as they may be certaine to suffer in the same Shipwracke with vs, if wee miscarry.

¹ page 3.

I addresse me to give you the best advise I can, touching the preferment of every of your ¹six sonnes and three daughters, in manner following.

It is true in most Gentlemen, and very likely in you, as in others, living onely vpon the review of lands, That the height of their Husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, That their credit may hold vp and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest Sonne claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your life time to make the rest of your Children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, It is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire, commonly striving to vphold the reputation of his Ancestors, He abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much vpon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To bee a *Minister* (with them) is to be but a *Pedant*; A *Lawyer*, a *mercenarie* fellow; A Shop-keeper, a man most subject to the most wonderfull Cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much vpon his Wives well bearing and faire carriage. What is, then, to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst ²able to shift, should bee by you provided for in the first place, while your Land is of virgin reputation, while it is chast, and vndishonested by committing of single fornication with Countrie Creditors, that trade without sheets (that is) by *Pole deed*, only for saving of costs; or, at least, before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a Citie Scrivener. But especially, before it grow so impudent as to lie downe in the Market place, and to suffer everie pettie Clarke to bring its good name vpon Record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets,—As in this Statute, or in that

¹ page 4.

² page 5.

Judgment: Take heed of that by any meanes. And bee sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed vp to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his blood begin to feele the heate of any affections kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a blacke wrought Wastcoate with a white apron, & a loose bodied gowne without an apron. Put him of in his best clothes, (I meane) in the assurance of your lands; sell him at *the* highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children. Not share and share like, but to every each one, the more, according to their defects: Let impotencie, decreptnes, ilfavourdnes, and incapacitie, rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comlinesse, activitie, beautie, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living according to any prescript order or method of your ¹owne election, But according to their inclination and addition, seeing that everyone, by instinct of nature, delighteth in that wherein he is like to bee most excellent. And delight and pride in any thing undertaken, makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the *Ministerie*, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized, betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no, not so much as Hospitably by any meanes.

In the first place, take your
direction for the
SCHOLLER.

His Education.

His Maintenance.

His Advancement.

FOr his Education. The Free-Schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.¹

¹ page 6.

So many of them also afford some reasonable meanes in ayde of young Schollers, for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the Founders or Benefactors of such Schooles.

¹ Some of them be of the foundation of some Kings and Queenes of this Land; and they are commonly in the gift of the King, or his Provost, or Substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some Bodies or Societies incorporate; And they are commonly in the gift of such Masters, Wardens, Presidents, and their Senior fellowes; such chiefe officers of any other title, or such Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or such Opposers, Visitants, or Committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: And they are, for the most part, in the gift of the Executor, Heire, or Feoffees of such Donor, according to the purport of his Will, or Grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.

Westminster.

Winchester.

The Merchantaylors Schoole, London.

The Skynners at Tunbridge.

Sutton's Hospitall.

St. Bartholomews.

And very many other the like.

Briefly, few or no Counties of this Kingdome are unfurnisht of such Schooles. And some have so many, that it is disputable whether the Vniversities, with the Innes of Court and Chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free-Schooles, againe, have *Schol²lerships* appendant unto them, in the one of the Vniversities, or both.

To which, upon Election yearely, they are removeable, As

From Eaton to Kings Colledge, Cambridge.

*From Westminster to Trinity Colledge, Cambridge, or Christchurch,
Oxon.*

From Winchester to New Colledge, Oxon.

¹ page 7.

² page 8.

*From the Merchantaylors to St. Iohn's, Oxon.
And the like, from many the like.*

Some other Free-Schooles have pensions for preferment of their Schollers, and for their maintenance in the Vniversitie.

Some Companies Incorporate (especially of London, having no such pensions in certaine) doe usually out of the Stocke of their Hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons (upon my knowledge) who doe voluntarily allow yearely exhibition of this nature.

Now if you would know how to finde what is given to any such Free-Schooles, and in whose disposing they now be,

Search

*In the Tower of London, till } { For Grants and for License
the end of Rich. the 3. } { of Mortmaine, inde.*

*And in the Chappell of the } { And for the like.
Rolls. }
From thence till the present.*

¹ *In the Register of the Prerogative Court, for }* { For such Grants
such things devised by Will, by King, Queene, or Subiect. { given by Will.

And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the Tower and the *Prerogative*, and in the *Rolls* and *Prerogative* respectively.

For the time since our reformed Church of England began here,

Search { Doctor { For all from the King, or from
Willets } { any other.
Synopsis. }

Search

*In divers of our Chroni- } { For the like.
cles. }*

Next, adde certaine helpes for discovery and attayning thereof. **F**irst (if it may be) procure a sight of the Lieder Bookes, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keepe for their owne use.

Next, be acquainted with some of the Disposers themselves.

Next, take the directions of the Master or Teacher of such Free-Schooles.

Especially to be interessed in the Clarkes or *Registers* of such Societies as have the disposing of any such things.

Also to use means by Letters of persons powerfull and usefull to such disposers.

¹For (indeed) it is not the sound of a great mans name to a Letter in these dayes, wherein they are growne so common and familiar to our Societies (of London especially), can preuale so soone as the Letter subscribed by the *Lord Maior*, or other eminent Officer of the Citie, to whose commandement they be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, For discoverie and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose, as I take it.

*Now suppose your sonne is brought to the Vniversitie
by Election or as Pensioner.*

THe first thing you must take to your care is: In case he come not by election, but as a Pensioner to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a Schollership in the Colledge where you bestow him.

Or in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a Schollership, place him with a Senior fellow of the house (as Tutor), though you allow to some Iunior fellow somewhat yearlye for reading unto him.

This Senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest, as, with the speaking merit of your sonne, may worke your desire.

²Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out, being eyther in the gift of some

body Incorporate, Or of some private person, Wherein the discovery is to bee made (as aforesaid).

If you sue to a Company consisting of many persons Tradesmen, you must enquire who bee the most potent Patriians, and best reputed Vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an *Assistance* of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to speake sensibly to these two or three is no Mysterie; You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; And, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes. Onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and Armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter. Doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you, this, with a Bucke at the Renter Wardens feast, may come somewhat neere to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend Divine, as he doth most respect and frequent. For other, letters can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charitie are equally and temporately mingled in him; And be sure, withall, that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde. For a Fooles pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his Schollership, seeing the Schollership keepes him company no farther than to the degree of Master of Arts, and a quarter of a yeare after, in those Colledges, where Schollerships are longest lived, And in some not so long.

In some Colledges The Fellowship followes the Schollership of course; and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But

in the most it is not so, but comes by Election. Which Election passeth by the Master and Senior Fellowes, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be Elected will beare it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the Master hath a double voyce, and in some places hee hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea, if there be but one at sometimes.

In Colledges, the letters of great persons, especi[ally] of the Lords grace of *Canterburie*, and the Vniversitie Chancellor, have beeene of great prevailance; But it is not so now in these dayes.

¹ There bee beneficiale gradations of preferment likewise, for Fellowes in their Colledges; as *Lecturer*, *Deane*, *Bowser*, *Vice-master*, and *Master*. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they find themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such who live cloystered like Votaries; who have Sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keepe out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their booke, and have an excellent activity in handling the fox tayle, such as hold no honour like to *Supplicat reverentij vestris*; And to be head *Bowsier* of the Colledge, as good as to be Chiefe Butler of *England*.

These preferments of the Colledge, all but that of the Master, comes of course by order and antiquity. Therefore, no meanes but patient abiding, needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the Cloyster into the Commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of Advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministrie.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther then next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong ²to their owne Colledge, and are in the guift of their Master and Senior fellowes (as most Colledges have divers such); and amongst them, which are void at the present, or whose Incumbent is not like to live long. And if he

¹ page 13.

² page 14.

find out any such, than, if he know not, after so long continuance among them, to speake in his Seniors owne *Dilect*, let him never travaile beyond *Trumpington*¹ for me.

More indigitly, For attaining of such a Benefice, let him enquire where the Mattens are read with Spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted vp into the pulpit, or the like, and make a way for Succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a Benefice together with his fellowship, or a Pension, for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony, whereby they are so wedded to the Colledge.

Next, he must clime vp to the maine top of *Speculation*, and there looke about him to discover what Benefices are emptie abroad, where the Incumbent lives only vpon the Almes of *Confectio Alchermis*; Or where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage and a Prebendarie into a *Deanarie* and a *Donative*, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case, by any meanes.

² For Benefices abroad.

Benefices a broad are in the gift of

The King imediately,

Or the Lord Keeper for the King :

Some Lord Bishop :

Some Deane and Chapter :

Some Bodie incorporate :

Some Parish :

Some Private Patron.

You shall find in the Tower a collection of the Patent Rolls gathered of all Presentations made by the King in those dayes to any Church Prebendarie or Chappell, In right of the Crowne, or otherwayes, from i. of *Edward the first*, till the midst of *Edward the third*.

The King himselfe, only and imediately presenteth in his owne right to such Benefices as belong to him, and are aboue twenty pounds value in the *first Fruits Bookes*.

¹ Near Cambridge.

² page 15.

For attayning of any which, I can advice you of no better course, than to learne the way to the backe stayres.

The Lord Keeper presents for the King to all such benefices as belong to his Majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookees.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are Incumbents in any of these,

Search

The first Fruits Office.

The Clarke, who hath the writing of the Presentations.

¹*The Lord Keepers Secretarie being.*

Where note, that the King hath used very seldome to grant any such living in Reversion.

And the Lord Keeper now being, His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good to provide for mans merit, and cherish industrie in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a request² of this kinde without trespass to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning Benefices in the Presentation of any of the Lords Bishops.

Note, that most Bishopricks in *England* have presentation to divers Benefices belonging to their Seas.

For the number and present estate of these

Search

Their owne Leidgers.

Their Registers.

Enquire of

Their Auditors.

Their Stewards of their Courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of theyr bookees of this kind, in the hands of the heyres or Executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is Chaplaine to such a Lord Bishop hath, for the most part, the best meanes, accessse, and opportunity, to ataine to such a Benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this

¹ page 16.

² orig. repuest

Patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in Court, may doe some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes ¹of attaining any Benefice in the Presentation of any *Deane* and *Chapter*, are to be used with them respectively, as with the Bishops.

With every *Deane* and *Chapter* are likewise divers *Prebendaries*, to be obtained of their gift after the same manner, and by the same meanes also.

The other bodies Incorporate, besides those of *Colledges* and *Deanes* and *Chapters*, have many of them (especially of London and some subordinate Societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers Benefices.

Also some Parishes, by prescription, doe present to their owne perochiall Benefices. And many Patrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the Parishioners, upon their hearing, and allowing, and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such suitors, and no otherwise; divers governors, and gradations of the lands of divers Hospitals, and *Mesons de dieu*, have like right of presentation to Benefices, as have other bodies Incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the like.

In Parishes and Companies of Tradesmen Incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your Alderman of the Ward, his Deputie, your Common Councill-man, Yea, sometime that petty Epitomie of Wardemote Enquerst, that little busie morsell of Iustice (the *Beadle* of the Ward), will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The Probotory Sermon, that must be made upon such tryall before such an *Auditorie*, would be according to the capacitiie in generall, But more ²especially according to the humor and addiction of those whose wits the rest have in singular reverence, As Mr. *Francis Fiat*, a good vnderstanding Fishmonger (I assure you); you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a Wine Cooper, and his iudgement better in *Claret* then in *Contioclerum* a great deale.

If your sonne vpon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, In regard that they are so hallow mouthed,

¹ page 17.

² page 18.

let him be sure, though he misse the Benefice for want of preperation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselues to bring him in as a *Lecturer*, which is a thing they reverence farre beyond the Parson of the Parish, by many degrees.

Lastly, for private *Patrons* and the Benefices in their guifts,

Search,

The Bishops Register :

for Institution and Presentation.

The Archdeacons Register :

for the Induction.

The Archbishops Register :

if it be a Peculiar.

It was my chaunce lately to see a booke of all the Benefices within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, with the manner of their tything in every each one respectiuely. In which I find that there are, or should be, with the *Register* of every Lord Bishop, seaven Bookes kept for Entrie of the matters and busines of their Diocesse, of which this of Benefices is¹ the cheife.

²The like I saw formerly of the Diocesse of *St. Davids*, which confirmes mee in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other Diocesses.

And seing that severall private³ patrons are of severall dispositions; some more Lucrative and Covetous, Others more charitable and religious; I can give you no other rule of attaining the Benefice than this, *viz.*

That your sonne bring with him abilitie of learning, Integratie of life, and conformitie of behaviour, according to the order of the Church establisht amongst vs; and these shall make his way with⁴ the good and generous Patron. But for the other patron, it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very litle for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truely he is indifferent; for his part, very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe thus (if he meane to be presented), according to present necessitie: He must

¹ in *in orig.* ² page 19. ³ privare *in orig.* ⁴ whith *in orig.*

both speake and prove himselfe a man indued with good gifts, For he shall have to deale with a Patron of a quick Capacitie, more dexterous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in deliverie.

Be this Patron what he will, your comfort is, the Benefice must be fild, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case, (For seldom doth the Clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accostomed houre.)

¹Lapse by reason of *Simony*, and Lapse for not presenting in due time; Both offer advancement to learning; But the first is as hard to discover as a witch, And the second as rare to find out as a faithfull fiduciarie or a fast Freind.

The degrees of rising in the Ministrie are not easier knowne then practized by the industrious man.

Breifly, if all Church livings in *England* were equally² distributed, There is noe one of the Ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good Livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God, That it might please the right reuerend Fathers of the Church the Lord Bishops, That they would once in every of their times cause a true Catalogue of all the Benefices within their severall Diocesse, with the names of the Patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the *first fruits*, for the better information of all such as deserue, and would gladly attaine to, some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by hauing recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit downe in their wants, having good meanes to many private Patrons, onely for lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note that it is an vsuall thing in private Patrons³ to graunt reversion and Advowson of such livings.

My selfe intended heretofore to collect all such Benefices, with their Patrons, into a certaine Cal⁴lender, for such direction (as aforesayd), and made some passage into it. But the farther I went, the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved, that without the Bishops assistance it cannot be done.

And so much for the Ministerie.

¹ page 20. ² epually in orig. ³ Parons in orig. ⁴ page 21.

The Lawes promotions follow.

By
Civill Law
and
Common Law.

For breeding of your youth in the Civill Law, there are two Colledges of especiall note in our Vniversities: the one is *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*; the other is *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*.¹

I remember me not of any Free-Schoole in *England* that have any place appendant in *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*. But in new Colledge of *Oxford*, the Free-Schoole of *Winchester* hath claime both of Schollerships and Fellowships, the whole Colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confess, the charge of breeding a man to the Civill Law is more expensive, and the way more painefull, and the booke of greater number and price, than the Common Law requireth. But after the Civill Lawyer is once growne to Maturity, His way of Advancement is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the Common Lawyers; and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no Sollicitors to trample betweene them and the Clyent. So that the Fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The Preferments at which they may
arrive are these:

Chancellor to the Byshop.

Archdeacon.

Commissarie, where they have Commissarie Officiall.

Judge, and Surrogate.

Advocate for the King.

Mr. of the Chancerie.

The Kings Proctor.

Advocate, and Proctor at large.

¹ MS. note in the Art copy, rather Alsoules by farre.

² page 22.

In these Courts, viz.

The High Commission.

The Delegates.

The Prerogative.

The Consistorie.

The Arches.

The Bishops Courts.

The Archdeacons Courts.

Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials Court.

The Admiraltie Courts.

The Court of the Kings Requests.

In times past

The countenance of some Byshop, especially of the ¹Lord *Archbyshop*, upon a *Civilian*, will much advance his practice as an Advocate, and give him promotion² as a Judge.

There are under the greater officers aforesaid divers other inferior Officers: as

Register.

Arctuarie.

Examiner.

The number of the Doctors, (though I finde them never to have beeene limited,) Yet it is certaine that the time was within memory of man when the house of their *Commons* did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and dyet. And as for the number of *Proctors*, they were of late times limited. How it is now, I know not.

For the Common Law.

For breeding of *Students* at the *Common Law*, take directions for their *method* of studie out of that *Tractate* which Mr. *Justice Dodridge* did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely (for my part) I doe much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger Students. First, in the Innes of *Chancery*; there to be the better prepared³ for the Innes of Court. And this must needs be the

¹ page 23.

² promorion *in orig.*

³ prepared *in orig.*

better way, seeing too much liberty at the first prooves very fatall to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commend also the breeding of some Com¹mon Lawyers in this kinde, *viz.*

That when they have beeene admitted firſt into an Inne of the *Chancerie*, they have beeene withall entred as *Clarkes* in the office of some *Prothonotarie* of the *Common-Pleas*, to adde the ſkill of the Practicke to their ſpeculation. And if a Student be thus bred, by his foundation in the one, and his experience in the other, he ſhall with more facilitie than others, who ſtep into the Inne of Court at firſt, attaine to an abilitie of practiſe.

Besides other ordinary requisite parts and Arts in a Common Lawyer, Skill in the *Records* of all Courts of *Record*, and in other *antiquities* of President, With ſome Reading in the Civill Law, also will much inable him.

The Common Lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse. The charge moſt at the firſt. For after he hath ſpent ſome few yeareſ effectually, He may attaine to the imployment of ſome private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater Counſalle, whereby he ſhall adde both to his meaneſ and knowledge.

It is true, that I have knowne ſome Attorneys and Sollicitors put on a Counſailors gowne without treading the ſame usuall path to the barre (as aforesaid). But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast ſuites had thrust himſelfe in amongst the *Nobilitie* at a Court Maſke, where, pulling out his Handkercher, hee let fall his Thimble, and was ſo discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foote, till the Guard ²delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cryed, “ farewell, good feeble ! ”

If the Common Lawyer be ſufficiently able in his profession, he ſhall want no practice; if no practice, no profit.

The time was that the younger Counſale had ſome ſuch helpe, as

To be a Favourite,

A Kindred,

To marry a Neece, Cosin, or a Chamber-maide.

But thoſe dayes be paſt, and better ſupply their roomes.

¹ page 24; pages 24, 25 misnumbered in orig.

² page 25.

As fellowes of Colledges in the Vniversities get pensions or Benefices to adde to their livelyhood, So Barresters and Counsailors of the Innes of Court advance their meanes by keeping of

*Courts of Mannors,
Lects and Barrons,
Swanimootes of Forrests,
Stannaries,
Cinque Ports, &c.*

By places of

*Judges of Inferior Courts. As
London, and other like Corporations.
The Virdge.
The Tower of London.
St. Katherines, neare the Tower.
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clinke.
Wentworth, and like Liberties.*

¹ By office of

*Recorder of some Co[r]porate Towne.
Feodarie of some Counties.
The Kings Counsayle in the Marches of Wales, or at Yorke,
or Judge, or Counsayle of some Countie Pallatine.*

The greater places of preferment for Common Lawyers are

*The Judges at Westminster and elsewhere.
The next are all the severall Officers of the Courts of West-
minster, and elsewhere.*

All which you shall finde set forth breifly in *Smiths Commonwealth of England*, and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together, afford suffic[i]ent maintenance for thousands of persons, who may bee here well prouided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of yonger brothers, shew what meniall *Clarkeships* of large exhibition are vnder the great Officers of the Land, the Judges, the *Kings Counsayle*, and other Officers which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it

would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment, especially vnder the *Lord Keeper*, as *Secretaries for Chancerie* busynesse, and Spirituall promotions, the *Comm[i]ssion of the Peace, Iniunctions, the Dockquett*s. And other the like vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, as *Secretaries* for the busynesse of the *Realme* and the *Custome-house*; besides the Inlets to so many preferments about the *Customes* and *Escheators*; places vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, vnder the *Chauncellor* of the *Exchequer, Duchie and Principalitie of Wales*, and *Duchie of Cornewall, as Seale keeper, Secretary, &c.*

Vnder the Master of the Court of *Wardes*, as *Secretarie*; vnder the *Judges*, as *Marshall*; *Clarke of the Bailes, &c.*; Vnder the *Barrons of the Exchequer*, as *Examiner*; *Clarke of the Bailes*, and other *Clarkes*.

Vnder the *Kings Attourney Generall*, as *Clarke of the Pattens, Clarke of the Confessions and entries, Clarke of the References, Booke bearer*. Vnder the *Sollicitor Generall*: *Clarke of the Patents, Booke bearer*. Besides many other *Clarkes* vnder the white staues of the Court, and in the Counting house, and many seuerall offices.² All which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for feare that what I well intend for generall good, would be taken in offence for priuate preuidice. But for the *Clarkeships* of the *Kings houshold*, examine farther the Blacke booke in the *Exchequer*.

The Phisition followes.

A Nd heere I remember me of an old tale following, *viz.* At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene *Elizabeth*, diuers Commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace, all such of the *Clergie* as would not conforme to the reformed *Church*, one amongst others was Conuented before them, who being asked whether³ he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so conse⁴quently was adiudged to lose his benefice and to be deprived his function; wherevpon, in his impatience, he said,

¹ page 27.

² offices in orig.

³ whehter in orig.

⁴ page 28.

'That if they (meaning the Commissioners) held this course it would cost many a mans life.' For which the Commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words,¹ tending to the raying of a rebellion or some tumult in the Land; for which he should receiue the reward of a Traytor. And being asked whether hee spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and tooke vpon him the Iustification thereof; 'for, said he, yee have taken from me my liuing and profession of the Ministrie; Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turne *Phisition*; and before I shalbe absolute Master of that Misterie, (God he knowes) how many mens lives it will cost. For few *Phisitions* vse to try experiments² vpon their owne bodies.'

With vs, it is a Profession can maintaine but a few. And diuers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing their travailles than in discerning their patients malladies. For it is growne to be a very huswifes trade, where fortune previales more then skill. Their best benefactors,³ the *Neapolitan*, Their *grand Seigneur*. The *Sorpego*, their *Gonfollinere*; The *Sciaticke*, Their great *Marshall*, that calls the Muster Rolle of them all together at every *Spring* and fall,—are all as familiier to her as the *Cuckow* at *Canck-wood in May*; And the cure of ⁴them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as good practize as the best of them for those kind of diseases.

Marry, for Womens grieves⁵ amongst *Phisitions*, the *Masculine* is more worthy then the *Feminine*.

Secrecie is the cheife skill, and virilitie the best learning, that is required in a Womans *Phisition*. But I never read of many of those to be long liued, or honestly wiued hitherto, in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of *Phisitions*, who are to be had in singular reverence, and be vsefull to mankind next to the Divine. Indeed, I rather pitty them; and pitting, smile to see how pretily these young game-

¹ wrods in the Douce copy.

² axperiments in the Douce copy.

³ benefactor in the Art copy.

⁴ page 29. ⁵ greifes in the Douce copy.

sters, *Male* and *Female*, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of *Patientrie* in all places wheresoeuer.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens liues this abused *opinion* had of such *Gamesters*, costs; Because they be not Masters of that Mysterie, and that science which requires the *Greeke* tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of *Philosophie*, *Historie* of all sorts (especially naturall), knowledge of all vegetatives and Minerals, and whatsoever dwels within the foure elements; Also Skill in *Astronomy*, *Astrologie*. And so much of the *Iudicials* ¹vpon all manner of *Calculations* as may be well warranted; with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young travailing Phisition and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their meanes of Advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be *Phisition of some Colledge in one of the Vniuersities*,
(as diuers *Colledges* have such places).

Phisition to the King or Queenes person.

Phisition to either of their housholds,

Or to some Hospitall, (as most have such).

Or to some great persons who may preferre them hereafter,
and be somewhat helpefull in the meane time.

To a good old Vsurer, or one that hath got his great estate together vncionably: For they feare nothing but death, and will buy life at any rate. There is no coward to an ill Conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with Gallants given to deepe drinking and surfeyting; For they are patients at all times of the year.

Or a Gentlewoman that would faine vse the meanes to bee pregnant.

Or your Lascivious Lady, and your man in the Perriwigge, will helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

²A Citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it.

And if all faile, And the *Bathe* will affoord no roome; Let them finde out some strange water, some unheard-of Spring. It is an easie matter to discolour or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it

¹ page 30.

² page 31.

makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a Superstitious opinion in it, Goodfellowship shall uphold it, And the Neighbouring Townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice followes.

THE first question is, to what Trade you will put your Son, and which is most worthy of choice. For the Merchant, it requireth great stocke, great experience in Forraine estates, And great hazard and adventure, at the best.

And this is not all: For it depends upon the Peace of our State with forraine Princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique; Or, who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our Trade abroad. Besides that, in time of Warre, they can hold no certainty of dealing, or supplying their Factorie in parts beyond the Seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to bee stayed, Marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times; Besides the burthen of Custome and Imposition which all ¹States impose more or lesse; So that unlesse wee have peace with such Neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinarie and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some Merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the stremme of State is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing; they that gaine then (Sir), if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as Merchants, but as men of Warre, which occupation a man may learne without serving seaven yeares Apprentiship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as Merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a Society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power in the most dangerous times; And if such Societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. How they be otherwise allowable, I leave to consideration.

For the Shopkeeper, his welfare, for the most part, depends upon the prosperity of the Merchant, For if the Merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes; Little Skill, Art, or Mystery, shall a man learne in Shopkeeping. A man shall never

in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his owne Meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit betweene the Mart and the Market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judiciall of the falling and rising of commodities, And the casualties that they are subject vnto, (especially) ¹in time of Warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those Trades which aske most with an Apprentice, are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stockes of setting up. Amongst Trades, give me those that have in them some Art, Craft, or Science, by which a man may live and be a welcome ghuest to all Countries abroad, and have imployment in the most stormy times at home, when Merchants and Shopkeepers are out of use, (as)—

An Apothecarie.

A Druggist.

A Chirurgion.

A Lapidarie.

A Ieweller.

A Printer.

An Ingraver in Stones and Mettall.

One that hath skill in seasoning of Shipwood.

A Carpenter of all sorts, especially of Shipping.

A Smith of all sorts, especially of Clockes, Watches, Guns, &c.

A Planter, and Gardner of all sorts.

An Enginere for making of Patars, and the like Engines of Warre. And

Hot Presses for Cloth, &c. And

*Engines to weigh any Ship, or Guns that are drowned, &c.
Skrues, &c.*

A maker of all sorts of Instruments for Navigation, Compasses, Globes, Astrolabes.

A Drainer of grounds Surmounded.

A Sale-maker, and

²*A maker of Cordage, Tackle, &c.*

A Lymner.

A Clothier, a Clothworker, and a Dyer.

¹ page 33.

² page 34.

A Taylor, Shooe-maker, Glover, Perfumer, and Trimmer of Gloves.

An Imbroiderer.

A Feltmaker, a Glasier, and one that can paint in Glasse.

Briefly, any Manufacture or trade, wherein is any Science or Craft.

Onely those Trades are of least use and benefit, which are called Huswives Trades (as *Brewer, Baker, Cooke*, and the like), Because they be the skill of Women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the Maker was before the Retaylor; and most Shopkeepers are but of a sublimated Trade, and retayle but as Attorneyes to the maker. But if the Maker (without dispute of Freedome in any Corporation) might set up Shop and sell his commoditie immedately, it would be a great deale better for the Commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficultie, burthen, or disgrace, for a Shopkeeper, yea, a Merchant, or a Gentleman, to have the skill, of some one of these Manufactures, besides his Revenew, or profession, to accompany him what fortune soever may carry him into Countries unknowne.

To my knowledge, a great *Earle* lately of this Land, did thinke it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the Craft and trade of a *Farror*, wherein he grew excellent.

¹ And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a Treatie wherein our Embassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our King and Kingdome with the Native commodities thereof, The *Dutch* (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our King was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the Merchant Royall that comes to his Profession by travaille and Factory, full fraught, and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking. But not the hedge-creeper, that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop with a Cryll under his arme, That leapes from his Shop-boord to the Exchange, and after he is fame-falne and credit crackt in two or three other professions, shall wrigle

into this and that when he comes upon the Exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing, whether is the more profitable house-keeping, either with powder Beefe,¹ & brewes, or with fresh Beefe and Porridge ; though (God wot) the blacke Pot at home be guilty of neyther : And so he departs when the Bell rings, and his guts rumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The Merchant Royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poore patching interloping Lapwings that have an adventure of two Chaldron of Coles at New-castle ; As much oyle in the *Greene-land* fishing as will serve two Coblers for ²the whole yeare ensuing. And an other at *Rowsie*, for as many Fox-skins as will furre his Long-lane gowne, when he is called to the Livorie.

The Shopkeeper is a cleanly Trade, especially your Linnen-Draper ; which company hath the greatest Commonalty, and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by Charter, for (indeed) they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better encouragement of men of Trade, Know that in most Companies of Tradesmen incorporate (especially in *London*), there is provision made by divers benefactors of their Societies deceased for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stockes of money remaining in the hands of some few of the chiefe of their Company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their owne consideration,) But surely the poorer sort complaine much of the misemployment of it generally

There is but one little Crevis to peepe in at their dealings, And that is betweene their Masters conscience & the Clarks connivence, which is so narrow, that you may sooner discern the South Pole through the maine Center, than discover their mysterie.

Indeed, in times past, the Clerkship of the Company hath beene bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the Company for his livelyhood. But the Attorney and Scrivener, and some petty Clarkes of the Citie, by the Letters of, &c. pre-occupy those places.

³And here I could wish, for righting of the dead, and releeving

¹ Salt beef.

² page 36

³ page 37.

of the poorer members of such Companies who are kept in ignorance, That some paines were taken in the *Prerogative Office*, for the collating of all guifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their Grand Masters to account, if they abuse the trust in them reposed in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined, And (God knowes) how poore a remaine of life is left in my Glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search (*Gratis*) for all Grants and guifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my Lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity. Provided always, that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come

The Navigator

Next to the man of Trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the *Navigator* his due, for that his profession is as full of science, as usefull to the Common wealth, and as profitable to himselfe, as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing, and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his Compasse; the knowledge of languages, and dispositions of forreigne Nations where¹ he travailles and trades, he may rise from a Squabler to a Master, from a Master to be a Generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The Nauigator his way of Advancement
and imployment is, by

*The Lords of his Maiesties privie Councell,
The High Admirall,
Commissioners for the Kings Navy,
Chief Officers of the Navyes of Societies,
incorporate,
Private Merchants and the like,
With the Trinitie house.*

But if he get to be an Owner, he may trade as free as bird in ayre,

¹ page 38.

as a man of warre, or a man of trade and Commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not vpon the incorporated Companies, especially the *minotaur*. He cannot do amisse (with Gods assistance¹). He may liue merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere Carryer of home commodities, Imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

THe Husbandman may likewise for the happie content of the life, and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to inuite a right good mans sonne to vndergoe the profession.

Your sonne whom you intend for a *Husbandman*,² must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together. For if the Gentleman be predominant, his running Nagge will out run the Constable. His extraordinary strong Beere will be too headstrong in office of *Church-Warden*. And his well mouthed dogges will make him out-mouth all the Vestrie. But if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlick. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the vnhealthfullest corners of the Kingdome are the most profitable for Fermors. He must especially aime at a Tenancie vnder the *Crowne*, or some *Bishops Sea, Deane, and Chapter*, some *Colledge*, some *Companie*, some *Hospitall*, or some other bodie incorporate. Wherein the *Auditor or Receiver* must be his best Intelligencer and Director. Young ynthriffts acquaintance, when they first arriue at the age of one and twentie, And good old consciential Landlords, that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their Grandfathers, or hope to be deliuered out of Purgatorie by their Tenants prayers, will doe well.

These professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receiue all fixed starrs, and such dispositions as may be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition.

Fit it with the profession of a *Courtier*.

For an overflowing, and Ranker disposition, make him a *Souldier*.

¹ assistnace *in orig:*

² page 39.

But, beyond this, he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or prouidence.

**The Courtiers wayes of advancement
be these:*

BY the generall and most ancient rule of Court, if you would have him to be preferred unto the Kings service in the end, And, in the meane time, to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, Place him with one of the *White Staves* of the Houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can), put him unto the Lord High Steward his Service (who, amongst the white Staves), hath the chiefest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayres.

If the High Steward be full, seeke to the Lord Chamberlaine, who hath the chiefe power to preferre to the places above stayres, and to the Wardrobe.

And, if there be no entrance there, then seek to the Treasurer of the Houshold, and next to the Controllor. The Master of the Houshold. The Coferer, and the rest of the green Cloth.

The Master of the Horse preferres to the Avenanarie and other Clarkeships offices, and places about the Stable.

The principall Secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the Clarkeships in the office of the *Signet*, and the Lord privie Seale into the privie Seale office.

The Master of the great Wardrobe into the Clarkeships and offices there. The Master of the Robes. The Master of the Jewell-house. The Keeper of the privie Purse. The Master of the Toyles² and Tents, with some other the like, have whilome beeene the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the King, in divers beneficiale places and Clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The Lord *Treasurer* without the house, preferres to his Majesties service, in most places in, or about the Custome-houses, in all the parts of *England*.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old, for preferment into the Kings service, for these kind of places.

¹ page 40.

² page 41.

The yeomen of the Guard were wont to come in, for their personage, and activitie, by their Captaines allowance.

And the Bed-chamber mens servants, ever were in way to be preferred for Pages of the privie Chamber, or Groomes, or placed at the back staires, not of right, but of custome.

For the Clarkes of the Houshold, they were wont auently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the *Black Booke*; but how it is now, I know not.

For your better satisfaction of Court Offices, their order and Fee, Search the *Blacke Booke* in the *Exchequer*, and in the Court; And for all Offices whatsoever under the King throughout the whole Kingdome, Either in *Castle, Parke, Chase, Court, or house* of the Kings royalty or place soever, with the then Fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, Whereof many hundred Copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord *Treasurer Burleigh*, and ¹by him delivered to the late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie. And so much for the *Courtier*.

The Souldier followes.

A Nd the question is first.

Whether the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, or a Land Soldier?

Questionlesse, the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, In this Kingdome of *England*, being an Island, for that he is more vsefull to his Country. More learning is required to be a Sea Soldier than to be a Land Soldier. A Sea Soldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the Land Soldiers pay will hardly find him sustenance. A Sea Soldier may now and than chaunce to haue a snapp at a bootie or a price, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever, where the Land Soldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher Towne at the most.

More valour is required in a Sea Soldier than in a Land Soldier; because the extremitie of the place requires it. The Sea Captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest

¹ page 42.

man in the Ship; where the land Captaine vseth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and than retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at Sea, is by the *Admiralls* Countenance, and the *Vice Admiralls* in the Kings seruice, or in other service by the favour of great traded Merchants, and especially of your ¹bodies incorporate, and their chiefe Officers: and more especially their President and Treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth.

If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect Nauigator, able to direct the Sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every Sayler to his charge. He should know what number of Sailors, what Ordinance, and what munition, should be requisite for a Ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull *Caneere*, and able to direct the *Gunner*², to say what quantity of powder a *Peece* of such bore and³ depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is vsed, whether the *Peece* be sound or hony-combed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, And what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to ouersee and direct the *Purser* and *Steward* in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse, or too much percermonie.

Likewise skilfull in all manner of Fire-workes, and fitting Engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat, as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and he skilfull to controle every other in their places. He should be courteous and louing to his men; Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God. See that the divine service be duely read on board Evening and Morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A Sea Captaine is not a place for a young ⁴man to leape into instantly, and imediately out of a Ladies Vshership, a Great mans bed chamber, or a *Littletons* discipleship.

It is not your feathered Gallant of the Court, nor your Tauerne Roarer of the Citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I find not any *Meson de dieu* for relieving of mayned Marriners

¹ page 43. ² Gnnner in orig. ³ ond in orig. ⁴ page 44.

only, but that erected at *Chattam* by Sir John Hawkins Knight, Treasurer of the Navie of the late Q. Elizabeth, wherein it was provided that there should be a deduction of Sixpence by the Moneth, out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same, Which I could wish were aswell employed as collected.

The Land-Souldier followes.

If the Land-Souldier thinke to thrive and rise by degrees of service, from a Common Souldier to a Captaine, in this age, (alas) hee is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete, and growne out of use. Doe what he can doe in Land-service, hee shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and Satiate himselfe upon a Pay day.

But if hee be of Kinne, or a favourite to some great Officer, hee may carry the Colours the first day, bee a *Lieutenant* the second, and a Captaine before he knowes how many dayes goe to the weeke in their Regiment.

The Land-service, where a man may learne most experience of Warre discipline, is in the *Low-Countries*, ¹by reason of the long exercise of Warres and variety of Stratagems there.

Beyond that, Northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your Sonne turnes his face to the South, the more profitable the Land-service is.

Lastly, if hee have no friend or kindred to raise him in the Land-service, I assure you that there is no Law against buying and selling of Offices in the *Low-Countries*, for ought that I have read; Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the Souldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds hee can reckon about him.

All the wayes of relief for him that I can number are these:

A poore Knights place of *Windsor*; If the Herald report him a Gentleman, And the Knights of the Honourable Order of the *Garter* will accept him.

¹ page 45.

A Brother of *Suttons Hospital*; If the Feoffees have not Servants of their owne to preferre before him.

A Pensioner of the County; If the *Iustices* find him worthy, And that hee was prest forth of the same County.

Saint *Thomas in Southwarke*, and St. *Bartholmews, Smithfield*, onely till their wounds or diseases be cured, and no longer; And that if the Masters of the sayd Hospitals please to receive them.

For the *Savoy*, where Souldiers had a foundation, I know none now.

¹And other Houses appropriated for relief of Souldiers, now in use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished, The *Templarij* are gone, The Knights of St. *John of Jerusalem* forgotten, That famous House upon *Lincolne greene* is rac'd to the ground, And many the like, now better knowne by the *Records* than the remaines of their ruines, with their Revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first foundation to private and peculiar Inheritances, which I pity more than the dissolution of all the Monasteries that ever were.

Heere, you see, is preferment enough for your sixe Sonnes, though you bestow every one upon a severall Profession; Only take this generall Rule for all, *viz.*

To what course soever your sonnes shall betake them, Bee sure that they all have *Grammar* learning at the least, So shall they bee able to receive and reteyne the impression of any the said Professions. And otherwise, shall scarce possibly become Masters in the same, or any one of them; Or if they doe, It will bee with more than ordinary paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next place.

FOr theyr Portions I shewed you before, how and when to raise them; That is, by the Marriage of your eldest Sonnie, or out of that part of your personall estate which you may spare without prejudice of your selfe.

¹For their breeding.

I would have their breeding like to the *Dutch Womans* clothing, tending to profit onely and comelinesse.

Though she never have a dancing Schoole-Master, A French Tutor, nor a Scotch Taylor to make her shoulders of the breadth of *Bristow Cowsway*, It makes no matter, For working in curious *Italian* purles, or *French* borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. In stead of Song and Musicke, let them learne Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir *Philip Sidneys Arcadia*, let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female Poetresse at any hand. Let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnessse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arreigning of mens affections at their flattering faces : This is not the way to breed a private Gentlemans Daughter.

If the mother of them be a good Huswife, and Religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two forth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good Merchant, or Citizen of civill and Religious government, The other in the house of some Lawyer, some Judge, or well reported Iustice or Gentleman of the Country, where the Servingman is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement, for *Sempstrie*, for Confectionary, and all requisits of Huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company and unfitting libertie, which ²are the overthrow of too many of their Sexe.

There is a pretty way of breeding young Maides in an Exchange shop, or St. *Martins le grand*; But many of them get such a foolish Crick with carrying the Bandbox under their Apron to Gentlemens Chambers, that in the end it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their bandbox makes such a goodly show.

And in a trade where a woman is sole Chapman, she claimes such a preheminence over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, eyther in retaile, or whole saile at any rate.

¹ page 47.

² page 48.

The Merchants Factor and Citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your Daughters with their Societie.

And the *Judges*, *Lawyers*, and *Iustices* followers, are not ordinary Servingmen, but men of good breed, and their education for the most part *Clarkely*, whose service promiseth their farther and future advancement.

Your Daughter at home will make a good wife for some good Yeomans eldest Sonne, whose father will be glad to crowne his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of Gentry.

The youngmans fingers will itch to be handling of Taffata; and to be placed at the Table, and to be carved unto by *Mistris Dorothie*, it will make him and the good plaine old *Ione* his Mother to passe over all respect of Portion or Patrimony.

For your Daughter at the Merchants, and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the City affords them varietie.

¹The young Factor being fancy-caught in his dayes of Innocency, & before he travaile so farre into experience as into forreigne Countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome, as no alteration of Climate can alter.

So likewise may *Thomas* the fore-man of the Shop, when beard comes to him, as Apprentiship goes from him, be intangled and belymed with the like springs, For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of your *Clarkly* men complaine the moysture of their palmes; Others the *Sorpego* in their wrists: both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light uppon some Counsailor at Law, who may be willing to take the young Wench, in hope of favour with the old *Judge*. An Attorney will be glad to give all his profits of a *Michaelmas Terme*, Fees and all, but to wooe her through a Crevice. And the Parson of the Parish, being her Ladies Chaplaine, will forswear eating of Tithe Pig for a whole yeare, for such a parcell of *Glebe* Land at all times.

And so much for your Sonnes and Daughters.

I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in *Saint Albans*, standing at his doore upon his left leg, like to the old Drummer of Parish²-garden, ready to entertaine us.

¹ page 49.

² for Paris (*MS. note*).

Therefore I will here conclude with that of the Poet,

————— *Navibus atque*
Quadrageis petimus benevivere, quod petis hic est,
Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

F I N I S .

1 LONDON,

Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET for
Ben : Fisher, and are to bee sold at his Shop
at the signe of the Talbot in Alders-
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THE GLASSE

of godly Loue.

Wherin all maried couples
may learne their duties, each toward
others, according to the holy Scriptures :

*Verye necessary for all maryed
men and women, that feare the Lorde,
& loue his lawes, to haue it in their
Bedchambers, daily to looke in : whereby
they may know, and do their duties each vnto
others, and leade a godly, quiet, and
louing life togeathers, to the glory of
God, and the good example of their
Christian Bretheren.*

Iames .1. See that ye be not only hearers of the
worde, but also doers, least that therby yee
deceave your selues.

Coloffians .3. Aboue all thinges put on Loue,
which is the band of perfection.



To all Christian men and wo- men that are maryed.

Herasmuch as the Diuel is most ready to make strife, where there ought to bee most loue; and hath, with heddy wilfulnesse, concupisence, and ignorance, so blinded the hartes of those which liue vnder the yoke of Matrimony, that (as I may iudge by their fruites) there be very few that leade their lyues therein according to the lawes of Christe:— Therfore, (my deare & welbeloued Christians, which profess the Gospell) to the intent that you should liue therin, according to your profession and knowledge, I haue here brefely and plainly set forth what it is, and how you ought to leade your lyues therin, accordinge to the Rules of the holy Scriptures, so that your pure and godly lyfe may bee a good example, and also make such ashamed as would sclauder the holy Gospell, and professours of the same; yea, and that their wonted worde (which is, ‘marke these new men by their lyuinge’) may found to Gods glory, to the honour of his most holy worde, and praise of al them in Christ which do profess the same.

Farewell in the Lorde.

¹ page 76.

[This Glasse of Godly Love forms pages 75—87 of my imperfect copy of a tract, stated by Mr W. C. Hazlitt to be unique, entitled The Schoole of honest and vertuous lyfe: Profitable and necessary for all estates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P. [Thomas Pritchard]. No date. The tract contains, p. 47—74, Also, a laudable and learned Discourse, of the worthynesse of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their singuler instruction, to choose them vertuous and honest Husbandes: But (most specially) sent written as a Iewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By her approoued freend and kinsman, I. R. [John Rogers]. Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, and are to be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. [1569.] 4to, black Letter, A.—L. in fours. Hazlitt.]

'What Wedlocke is.'

Wou shall first vnderstande, that Wedlocke is an hie and blessed order, ordained of God in Paradise; which hath euer bin had in great honor and reuerence, wher[i]n one man and one woman are coupled and knit togeather in one fleshe and body, in the feare and loue of God, by the free, louing, hartie, and good consent of them both, to the intente that they two may dwel togeather, as one flesh and bodye, of one will and minde, in all godlynesse, most louingly to helpe and comfort one another, to bring forth children, and to instruct them in the lawes of God. Also, to auoyde Fornication and all vncleanenesse, and so in all honesty, vertue, and godlynesse, to spend their liues in the equall partakinge of all such thinges as God shall send them, with thankes gyuinge.

And, because that the Wife is in subiection to her Husband, I will begin with her, & shortly declare what dutie and obedience shee oweth vnto him, by the commaundementes of the Scriptures.

Ephe. 5. The duetie of the Wife to her Husband.

Sayne Pawle sayth: *Yee Wiues, submit your selues to your owne Husbandes, as to the Lorde; for the Husband is the Wiues head, as Christ is the head of the Congregation: Therfore, as the Congregation is in subiection unto Christe, likewise let Wiues be in subiection to their Husbandes in al things.* So that the wife must bee obedient vnto her husband, as vnto Christ himselfe; whereout it foloweth, that the saide obedience extendeth not vnto any wickednesse or euill, but vnto that which is good, honest, and cumly. In asmuch as God delighteth onely in goodnes, & forbiddeth the euill euery where, it foloweth also, that the disobedience that a wife sheweth to hir Husband displeaseh God no leſſe then when he is disobeyed himself. For the wife ought to obey hir husband in all pointes, as ²the Congregation

¹ page 77.

² page 78.

to Christe, which loueth Christ onely ; and aboue all thinges, shee is glad and willinge to suffer for Christes sake, shee doth all for the loue of him ; Christe only is her comfort, ioy, and all togeathers ; vpon Christe is hir thought daye and night ; shee longeth onely after Christ, for Christes sake (if it may serue to his glory) shee is hartely well contented to die, yee, shee giueth ouer her selfe wholly thereto, for Christes loue, knowing assuredly that hir soule, hir honour, body, lyfe, and all that she hath, is Christes owne. Thus also must every honest Wife submit hir self, to please hir Husband with all hir power, and giue hir selfe freely and willingly, to loue him and obey him, and neuer to forsake him till the houre of death.

And farther (sayth S. Peter:) *Let the Wiues be in subiection to their Husbandes, that euen they which beleue not the worde, may without the worde be wonne by the conuersione of the Wiues ; while they beholde your pure conuersation coupled with feare ; whose apparrell shall not bee outward with bredred haire, and hanging on of Golde, either in putting on of gorgious apparrell ; but let the hid man of the harte bee vncorrupt, with a meeke and quiet spirit, which spirit is before God much set by, for after this manner in the olde time did the holy Women which trusted in God tire themselues, and were obedient to their Husbandes ; even as Sara obeyed Abraham, and called him hir Lorde ; whose Daughters ye are as long as ye do well.*

And Paule, speaking vnto Tytus (sayth hee) : *Let the elder Women be in such apparrell as becommeth holiness, not beeinge false accusers ; not giuen to much Wine, but that they teache honest thinges to make the young Women sober minded, to loue their Husbandes, to loue their Children, to be discrete, chaste, hufswifely, good, obedient vnto their Husbandes, that the worde of God be not euill spoken of.*

VVhat a Wife ought to bee.

Here may you learne, that a Wife ought to be discret, chaste, hufswifely, shamefast, good, meeke, pacient, and ¹sober ; not light in countenance, nor garishe in apparrell, with dyed or curled haire, painted nor pasted, but with a cumly grauitie and a fad behauour of a constant minde, true tongued, and of few wordes, with such obedience in all godlynesse to her Husbande and head, as it beseemes

¹ page 79.

a Christian to haue vnto Christ; and to the intente that the Husband in like case may learne his duetie, let him harken what *Saint Pawle* sayth, and take heede that hee turne not his authoritie to tyranny.

The dutie of the Husband to his Wyse.

Husbandes, loue your Wiues (sayth hee), as Christ loued the Congregation, and gaue him selfe to sanctifie it.

Now must you vnderstande, that the Husbande is the Wiues head, as Christe is the head of the congregation; and Christ sheweth to the congregation the same thinge that the head sheweth to the bodye; for like as the head seeth and heareth for the whole body, studieth and deuiseith for to preserue it in strength and life, euen so doth Christe defend, teach, and preserue his congregation. For hee is the eye, hart, wisedome, and guide therof, so ought Husbands (then) to loue their wiues, & be their heads in like manner to shew them like kindenesse, and after the same fashyon to guide them and rule them with discretion; for their preseruacion, & not with force or wilfulnesse to intreat them. And *S. Pawle* saith farther: *So ought men to loue their wiues, as their owne bodies; he that loueth his wife loueth himself. For no man hath at any time hated his owne flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it, euen as the Lorde doth the Congregation.* Therfore ought every man most feruently to loue his wife, equally with himselfe in al pointes; for this is the measure of mutuall loue Matrimoniall, that either partie haue nothing so deare that they can not be contented to bestow one vpon another; ye, and if neede should be, they should also not spare their owne liues one for another, no more then christ did for his congregation.

¹ And like as when we repent and beleue in the promise of God in Christ, (though we were never so poore sinners), are as ritch as Christ, & al merites ours; so is a Woman (though she were never so poore afore she was maried) as ritch as hir husband, for all that he hath is hirs, ye, his owne bodye, and [she] hath power ouer it, as saith *Saint Pawle*.

And if it so chaunce that you finde not your wife so perfect in al pointes as you would, or as your selfe; yet must you not despise hir, nor bee bitteer nor cruell vnto hir for hir faultes, but gently and

¹ page 80.

louingly seeke to amend and win hir. For, like as Christe thought no scorne of his church, despised hir not, neither forsooke hir for hir vncleanenes and finnes ; so shold no christian man spurne at his wife, nor set light by hir, because that sometime she falleth, offendeth, or goeth not right ; but euen as Christ nourisheth and teacheth his church, so ought every honest husbande (also) louingly and gently to informe & instruct his wife.

For in many things (faith *S. Peter*) God hath made the men stronger then the women, not to rage vpon them & to be tirantes vnto them, but to helpe them & beare their weakenesse. Bee courteous therfore, (faith hee,) and win them to Christ, and ouercome them with kindenesse, that of loue they may obey the ordinance that God made beetweene man and Wife.

Oh how ashamed be those men to loke vpon this texte, which with violence in their furye will intreate their wiues ; no beast so beastly, for in the most cruelst way is not mete, as when the wife is sad and disquieted, then with spiteful wordes and wanton fashions, so prouoking hir to anger. Where it is not the dutie of the husband, but rather ashamed to his owne head; likewise it is worship for a man to haue the feare of the Lorde before his eyes, that he prouoke not the plague of vengeance.

Let vs therfore haue humilitie in our hartes ; For, as a wife man loketh well to his owne goinges, euen so pleasant are the wordes spoken in due seafon, which moueth the woman in hir wrath vnto patience, whereof *Salamon*¹ sayth : *Faire wordes are an Hony Combe, a refreshinge of the minde, and a health of the bones.* For it is seldome seene that any beast is found in the cruelst rage, that the Male doth euer hurte his Female ; and how vnnatural a thing is it for a man to hurt his owne flesh and body ! Who will violently reuenge himselfe, yea, on his foote, if it chaunce to stumble, but wil not rather, if hee haue an yll bodye, cherishe it to make it better ?

*The strong (faith *S. Pawle*) ought to beare the frailenesse of the weake ; let one suffer with another ; beare ye one an others burden, and so shall ye fulfill the lawes of Christ : and aboue all thinge (sayth *S. Peter*), Haue feruent loue amongst you, for loue couereth the multitude of faultes.* So that loue in all things and at all times ought to bee the

¹ page 81.

whole doore and only instrument to worke and frame all things betweene man and wife.

VVhat the Husband ought to bee.

BY all this may yee geather and learne that the man is the head, gouernour, ruler, & instrucster (with gentil wordes and good example), the prouyder, defender, and whole comforte of the woman, and oweth vnto hyr most feruent loue and affection, all gentle behauour, all faythfulnes and helpe, all comforte and kindenesse, as to him selfe, his owne flesh and body; so that vnder God there is no loue, no affection, no freendship, no nerenes of kin, to be compared vnto this, nor any one thing vnder the Sun, that pleaseth God more then man and wife that agree well togeathers, which liue in the feare of God. And how can that bee more liuely expressed, then in that, that Iefus Christ the Sonne of God, and the holy christian Church, and the holy body of them both, are set forth for an example or Mirror of the state of Wedlocke, or coniugall loue? a more holy, a more godly and purer example could not be shewed. Undoubtedly this doth plainly shew, that loue Matrimoniall is most highly accepted afore God; and the ¹contrary must needs folow, *that vnquietnes, hatred, strife, brawling, chiding, and frowardnes in Mariage, doth exceedingly displease God, & is clearely forbidden by Sainct Pawle, where hee sayth: Let all bitterneſſe, fiercenesse, and wrath, roaringe, and cursed ſpeaking, be put away from you: be ye courteous and louinge one to another, and merciful, forgiuing one another, even as God for Christes ſake forgaue you.* Surely it is an highe and pure loue, perfecte and constant, that God requireth to be betweene maryed couples, and therfore ought they by all wayes, meanes, and labour to get, maintaine, and increase this exceeding loue, and to eschue, forbeare, and cut of all things, that might occasion any parte of the contrary.

What maintaineth loue and quietneſſe in Mariage.

ANd vndoubtedly there is nothing that longer maintaineth concorde and quietnes, nor more increaseth perfecte loue in Maryage, then sweet and faire wordes, gentle and freendly deedes, and with a louing patience to take all things to the best. Freely to breake

¹ page 82.

their mindes togeathers, and al things to be kept secret, both¹ glad and willing to amend that is amisse, and aboue all thinge, not once one to heare yl of another, for *S. Pawle* warneth you that ye gine no place to the backebiters, but take them as yll willers to you both, though that they be neuer so nere freendes or kin. And God sayth, *A man shall forsake Father and Mother, and cleave unto his Wife, and they two shalbe one flesh, which in like case is mente to the Woman.* Therfore ought no creature aliue to be in such esteemation, credit, fauour, and loue, as each of you with others. Also, to bee of a sober and temperate dyet, doth much farther a good agreement; and where the contrary is, there is much vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* askinge where is woe? where is strife? where is brawling? euen amongst those (faith hee) that bee euer at the Wine; therfore it is most cumly for christians to be temperate in dyet, tempe²rate in wordes, temperate in deedes, and temperate in all things, so that at all times ye eschue al exceesse and surfet, rage and fury, which makes no difference betwixt man and beast, and all other things which may breed any part of vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* sayth: *Better is a dry morrell with quietnesse, then a full house, and many fat cattell with strife.* Therfore ought yee to exteeme and imbrace this concord and quietnesse, as the maintainer and onely vpholder of the whole felicite in Mariage, which is engendred of feruent loue, faithfulness, and kindenesse, and maintained by the same, wherin ye ought continually to walke in all chastenes and purenes of living, which (assuredly) shineth as a most precious thinge in the sight of God, and in the commendacion of the same, sayth:

The commendacion of Chastitie.

Salomon in the Booke of *Wisedome*: O faire is a chaste generacion with vertue, for it is with good men, where it is present, men take example therat, and if it go away, yet they desire it; it is alwayes crowned and holden in honour, and winneth the reward of the vndefiled Battel; but the multitude of vngodly Children are unprofitable, and the things that are planted in whoredome shall take no deepe roote, nor lay any fast foundacion; though they be greene in the braunches for a time, yet shall they be shaken with the winde, for they stand not fast, and through the vehemency of the winde they

¹ orig. doth

² page 83.

shal bee rooted out, for the vnprofitable braunches shall bee broken, their fruite shalbe vnprofitable & sower to eate, yee, meet for nothing; and why? all the children of the wicked must beare recorde of the wickednesse of their Fathers and Mothers, when they be asked, but t[h]o the rightuous bee ouer taken with death, yet shall hee be in rest.

Here may you see how vile, filthye, and abominable, Adultery, Fornication, and Basterdy is, and how high in estemacion a chaste life is amongst all good and godly ¹folke, and especially in the sight of God, to whom no secreat sinne is hid.

*That maryed folke ought to haue chaste manners
and communication.*

And as a chaste louinge life in Mariage is most commended, so ought ye to be of chaste manners, to haue chaste talke, and to eschue all wanton fashions, vncleynly communication, filthy handling, and all vnseemelynesse, and to be the speakers and very doores of all vertue and godlinesse, for Sainct Pawle sayth: *Be ye folowers of God as deare Children, and walke in loue, even as Christ loued you, and gaue himselfe for vs an offering, and a sacrifice of sweete sauour to God, so that fornication and all uncleanenesse, or couetousnesse, bee not once named amongest you, as becommeth Saincts, neither filthy nor foolish talke, neither iesting, which are not cumly, but rather giuinge of thankes: for this ye know, that whoremongers, eyther vncleane persons, or couetous persons, which is the worshippers of Images, shall haue any entrance in the kingdome of God and of Christ.*

Of temperance in Maryage.

Also, there ought to be a temperance betweene man & wife, for God hath ordained mariage for a remedy or medecine, to asswage the heate of the burninge flesh, and for procreation, and not beastly for to fulfill the whole lustes of the diuelish minde and wicked flesh; for, though ye haue a promise that the acte in mariage is no sinne, if the man receave his Wife as a guifte giuen to him of God, and the Wife her Husbande in like case, as ye haue a promise that yee sinne not when yee eate and drinke measurably with thankes giuinge,

¹ page 84.

yet if yee take exceſſe, or vſe it beastly, vileyly, or inordinately, your miſtemperance makeſſe that yll which is good, (beeinge rightly vſed, and that which is cleane, yee defile through your abuſinge ¹ of it: *God hath not called you to uncleaneneſſe, but vnto holynesse, fayth S. Pawle*): and farther (ſayth hee), *It is the will of God, euēn that you ſhould bee hōlye, and that euery one of you ſhould know how to keepe his veffell in holynes and honour, and not in the luſtes of concupiſcence, as do the Heathen which know not God.*

Also, *Saint Pawle* willeth you that yee withdraw not your felues, nor departe not one from another, except it bee with the good conſente of bothe, for a time to faſte and to pray; which faſtinge and prayer, I would to God were more vſed then it is, not as Hipocrites were wont, but as Christians ought, and are commaunded (almoſt) in euery parte of the Scriptures; for they that in eating and drinkinge fulfill the whole luſtes of the fleſhe, cannot worke after the ſpirite; and as wee daylie and hourelly continually finne, ſo ought wee continually to praye and call for grace. And in all the whole Byble, you ſhal not finde a more godly example of maryage (which I would to God all maryed folkes would reade), then that of *Tobiach and Sara, the Daughter of Raguell*, which were knit togeather in faſtinge and prayer, and oft vſed the fame, lyuinge a godly, pure, and cleane lyfe; for the which they obtayned the bleffinge of God, and ſaw their Childeſſe Children to the fifte generacion.

The commendacion of Children.

Childeſſe (vndoubtedly) is the highest guift, and greateſt treasure of this worlde, and maintenaunce of the fame. For Children is the very fure band and laſt knot of loue Matrimonial; by the which the parents can neuer be clearely ſeparated a funder; In aſmuch as that which is of them both cannot be deuided, ſeeing both haue parte in euery one. And children are their Parents cheefe ioy, comfort, and felicitie next vnto God; their ſtay and ſtaffe & vpholders of their age; and in their children do the Parents liue (in a manner) after their death. For they dye not all together, *that leauē collops of their owne flesh aliue ² behinde them*; and by their children (if they be ver- tuouſly and godly brought vp) then is God honoured, & the common

¹ page 85.

² page 86.

wealth aduaunced, so that the parents and all men fare the better by them. Your children (most assuredly) is the very blessing of god, for the which ye ought to giue him most hartie thankes, and be contented, and with such as hee doth sende you, bee they many or few, Sonnes or Daughters. For if they be many, he wil prouide for them if they be faithful. If they be few, he may send you more, and giue you more ioy of one daughter then of ten sonnes. Therfore, be content with his will, for hee doth all things for the best, and knoweth what is beste for you; giue him most hartie thankes for such as you haue, and be diligent to see them vertuously and godly brought vp; and in any case, suffer them not to bee ydell.

How children ought to bee brought vp.

For they that wil not worke (faith S. Pawle), let them not eate; therfore put them to learne some honest Science or Craft, wherunto of nature they be most apt. For in that shal they most profite; in the which they may get their owne lyuinge, and serue the common wealth. And aboue al thing, let them first learne to know God & his most holy worde, which is the right pathe and highe way to all vertue and godlinessse, the sure Shielde and stronge Buckler to defende vs from the Diuell and all his cruell and craftie assaultes; giue them daily godly and louinge exhortacions, suffer no vice to take roote in them, but rebuke them for their yll, and commend them in their well dooinge.

Prouide honestly afore hand for all necessary thinges, both for them and all your household. For, faith S. Pawle to Timothie: *If there bee any that prouideth not for his owne, and, namely, for them of his householde, the same denyeth the fayth, and is worse then an Infidell.*

¹ *The order of your house.*

Of the Sparrowes may yee learne the order of your household: for as the Cocke flyeth too and fro to bring all thinge to the neast, and as the dam keepeth the neast, hatcheth and bringeth foorth hir yonge, so all prouision, and whatsoeuer is to bee doone without the houfe, belongeth to the man; and the woman to take charge within, to see all thinges conueniently saued, or spent as it ought, to bring

¹ page 87.

forth and nourish hir children, and to haue al the whole dooing of hir Daughters and women.

Also be louing vnto your children, and be not fierce nor cruell vnto them. For *S. Pawle* saith: *Fathers, rate not your children, least they be of a desperate minde, but with discrete admonitions, and with your pure and good example of liuinge (which is the cheefest perswasion), lead them to all vertue and godlynesse.*

If all Parentes would vertuously bringe vp their children in the knowledge and feare of God, in the practice & exercise of some honest Science or Craft, Then should we not see so many ydell as bee; so many Vacabondes, Theeues, and Murderers, so many vicious persons of all degrees, nor such vngodlynes raigne. But then shoule wee see euery man honestly get his lyuing, preferring his Neighbours proffite as his owne; then shoule wee see all men rightly do their duties; then shoule loue and charity spring, and all godlynesse raigne; then shoule the Lawes and Magistrates be willingly obeyed, the common wealth flourish, and God rightly honoured, for in this point only, through the grace of God, confisites the amendment of all the whole worlde.

Therfore, (my deare and welbeloued Christians) seeing that in this blessed state of Matrimony, and godly householde of husband, wife, and children, confisites (next vnder God) the cheefest and highest felicitie of this worlde, and maintenance of the same, wherein the common wealth is wholly aduaunced, and God most highly honoured, I ¹exhort you in the name of Iefus Christ, the Sonne of the liuinge God, that you walke worthely therin, accordinge to the will of Christ, which you profess without faining, and that you eschue all woorkes and deedes of the fleshe, which bee these, saith *S. Pawle*: *Adultery, Fornication, uncleanesse, wantonnesse, Idolatry, Witchcrafte, hatred, varyance, wrath, strife, sedition, seectes, enuyinge, murther, drunkennesse, gluttony, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I haue tolde you² in times past, that they which commit such thinges shall not inherite the kingdome of God.* Therfore, follow yee the spirit and workes of the same, which bee, (sayth *S. Pawle*): *Loue, ioy, peace, longe suffering, gentilnesse, goodnesse, faithfulnesse, meekenesse, temperance, and such like.* And yet once agayne I exhort you with the exhorta-

¹ page 88.

² orig. you you

cion of S. Pawle: *If there be amongſt you any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfortable loue, if there be any fellowship of the ſpirit, if there be any compaſion of mercy, fulfill you my ioy, that ye draw one way, hauing one loue, beeing of one accorde, and of one minde, that nothing bee done through ſtrife or vaine glory, but that in meekeneſſe of minde, every one eſteeme other better then them ſelſe, and ſo ſhal you leade a ioyfull, quiet, and godly life in this world, and after, through Iefus Christ, come to the life euerlaſting, with God the Father, to whom bee all honour and glory. Amen.*

Rom. 10. *If the roote bee whole, the braunches ſhall bee whole alſo.*

F I N I S.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

IN THE

GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE.

Title page, p. 177, *Jam.* i. 22; *Col.* iii. 14.

p. 179, Yee Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 22-4.

p. 180, Let the Wives, &c., i *Pet.* iii. 1-6; Let the elder Women, &c., *Titus* ii. 3-5.

p. 181, Husbandes, love your Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 25; So ought men, &c., *Idem.* 28-9; his owne bodye, &c., i *Cor.* vii. 4.

p. 182, For in many things, &c., i *Pet.* iii. 7, 8? Faire wordes, &c., *Prov.* xvi. 24; the strong, &c., *Rom.* xv. 1; let one suffer, &c., i *Cor.* xii. 26? beare ye, &c., *Gal.* vi. 2; and above all thinge, &c., i *Pet.* iv. 8.

p. 183, Let all bitternesse, &c., *Eph.* iv. 31.

p. 184, A man shall forsake, &c., *Gen.* ii. 24; For Salomon askinge, &c., *Prov.* xxiii. 29, 30; Better is a dry morsell, &c., *Prov.* xvii. 1; Salomon in the Booke of Wisdome, *Wisdom* iv. 1-7.

p. 185, Be ye folowers, &c., *Eph.* v. 1-5.

p. 186, God hath not called you, &c., i *Thess.* iv. 7; It is the will of God, &c., *Idem.* 3-5; Also, Sainct Pawle, &c., i *Cor.* vii. 5.

p. 187, For they that wil not worke, &c., 2 *Thess.* iii. 10; If there bee any, &c., i *Tim.* v. 8.

p. 188, Fathers, rate not your children, &c., *Eph.* vi. 4; Adultery, &c., *Gal.* v. 19-21; Love, &c., *Idem.* 22.

p. 189, If there be amongst you, &c., *Philip.* ii. 1-3; If the roote, &c., *Rom.* xi. 16.

NOTES.

p. xiii. *John Lane and Milton's father*. "Besides these, there remains, as evidence of Lane's perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the Museum [Royal MS., 17. B. xv.], dated 1621, and entitled *Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized*. In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is—specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
Those sweet parts Meltonus did compose,
As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
Which in a counter-point maintaining *hie lo*
'Gan all sum up thus + *Alleluiah Deo.*"

But, more interesting still, another of Lane's manuscripts—that of "Guy of Warwick"—furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed "*Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico, in poesis laudem;*" that is, "John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend in praise of his poetry." The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. So here it is:—

"If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick!
For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light:
Heralds' records, and each sound antiquary,
For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
To satisfy those which *prævaricari*;
Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought;
Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments,
Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents,
To exemplify the flower of chivalry:
From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
For Christian imitation all are here."¹

¹ "Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet; and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in connexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally." —1859. D. Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 42-3.

p. xiii. John Lane's *Triton's Trumpet*. "Phillips . . omits '*Triton's Trumpet*', undoubtedly by Lane, and dated 1620, in which the death of Spenser in 1599 is mentioned, with all the particulars of his sufferings and poverty, and the vain wish of the Earl of Essex to relieve them. ('*Life of Spenser*', edit. 1862, p. cli)." — J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 448.—F.

p. xvii. note 1. Powell's *Welch Bayte*.

5^{to} Decembres

Valentine YT IS ORDERED that he shall presently bring into the hall, to be used
Symms according to the ordonance in that behalf. Thirtie booke of the welsh-
 bate, and all the ballades that he hath printed of the *Traytours lately
 Arrayned at Winchester*.

Valentine also YT IS ORDERED that he shall pay xliiis iiijd for a fine for
Symms printing the same book and ballad without Licence. And not to
 meddle with printing or selling any of the same booke or ballads
 hereafter.

Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 249. See also ii. 837.

p. xxiii. T. Powell's *Mysterie of Lending and Borrowing*. Here is

"The Authors Inuocation.

THou spirit of old *Gibbs*, a quondam Cooke,
 Thy hungry Poet doth thee now inuoke,
 T-infuse in him the iuyce of Rumpf or Kidney,
 And he shall sing as sweet as ere did *Sidney* :
 I am not so ambitious as to wish
 For black spic'keale, or such a pretious dish,
 As Dottrels caught by pretty imitation,
 Nor any thing so hot in operation,
 As may inflame the Liver of mine Host,
 To sweare I chalke too much vpon the post :
 My selfe a damn'd Promethian I should thinke,
 If with the Gods Scotch-Ale, or Meth, a drinke,
 The vulgar to prophane, Metheglin call,
 Or drops which from my Ladies Lembeck fall,
 In seuerall spirits of a fift transcendence,
 No, no, the hungry belly calls my mind thence :
 I wish not for Castalian cups, not I,
 But with the petty-Canons being dry,
 And but inspir'd with one bare Qu : let any
 Compare with vs for singing (O *Sydney*.)
 Thy Pot-herbs, prithy, *Robbin*, now afford,
 Perfume the Altar of thy Dresser-boord,
 And couer it with *Hecatombes* of Mutton,
 As fat and faire as euer knife did cut on :
 Then will I sing the Lender and the Debter,
 The martiall Mace, the Serieant and the Setter,
 Ruines and reparations of lost wealth,
 Still, Where you see me, Trust vnto your selfe."

p. 4, l. 11. *Lelaps*. A dog of surpassing swiftness given by Diana to Procris, and by her presented to her husband Cephalus. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, ll. 771-93, for an account of Laelaps.—S.

p. 5, l. 15. *daughters of twentye . . to rich cormorants of threescore*. Compare Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* of January and May.—F.

p. 6, l. 2. *Durum pati meminisse dulce*. Cf. *Aen.*, I. 203. Daniello

in a note to the *Infeino*, xvi. 84, attributes this quotation to Seneca, but does not give a precise reference. See Lombardi's *Dante*, I. 351, ed. 1830.—S.

p. 6, l. 7. *Thinges farre fetchte and deere boughte*. See Notes to Stafford's *Examination*, p. 103.—F.

p. 7, l. 3, *for* : from, against : 'now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth *for* swallowing the treasure of the realm,' 2 *Hen. VI*, IV. i. 74; 'and advise thee to desist *for* going on death's net,' *Pericles*, I. i. 40.—Schmidt.—F.

p. 7, l. 6. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*. Juvenal, S. vi. 223. The usual reading is "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit, &c."—S.

p. 8, l. 4. *women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes*. Compare Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*; Andrew Boorde's *Breviary*, chap. 242, in my edition of his *Introduction*, &c. (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 68, and note there.—F.

p. 10, l. 9. *had I wist is a slender remedy to remove repentaunce*. "I write not here a tale of had I wist : But you shall heare of travells &c."—J. Taylor (Water Poet), *Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 132, ll. 2-3. "A wise man saith not, had I wist."—Uncertain author in Tottel's *Miscellany*, Arber's ed. p. 244.—P. A. D. "When dede is doun, hit ys to lat ; be ware of hady-wyst."—The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgremage : *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, E. E. T. S., p. 42, ll. 119-20.—S.

p. 26, l. 8 from foot. *Knight of the Post*. Properly, a man who gained his living by giving false evidence on trials, or false bail ; in a secondary sense, a sharper in general. "A knight of the post, quoth he, for so I am tearmed ; a fellow that will sweare you any thing for twelve pence."—Nash, *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592.

"But is his resolution any way infracted, for that some refractaries are (like *knightes of the post*) hired to witnesse against him?"—Ford's *Line of Life*, 1620.'—(Additions to) Nares.—F.

p. 26, l. 24. *A supplication from Pierce Pennilesse*." An allusion to a satire written by Thomas Nash, entitled "Pierce Penilesse, his Supplication to the Divell ; describing the over-spreading of Vice, and the suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with concepited reproofes," Lond. 1592 ; Watts, *Bib. Brit.*—S.

p. 29, l. 12-13. Three instances of the genitive *it* in two lines : *it* delighte, *it* ioy, *it* beginning. See too p. 90, l. 9 from foot.—F.

p. 30, l. 9-10. This proverb of the Pitcher going long to the water, but getting broken at last, is in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, A.D. 1340 : "Zuo longe geþ þet pot to the wetere, þet hit comþ tobroke hom," p. 165, l. 7 from foot, ed. Stevenson, for Roxburghe Club.—F.

p. 32, l. 13 from foot. *it was the parte of Mad Men*, &c. A free expansion of "Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestati quavis ratione sapientis."—Cic. *Off.*, I. xxiv. 5.—S.

p. 33, l. 17. *a tooting head*: one with horns, through which men toot or blow, the mark of a cuckold.—F.

p. 33, l. 30. *where Christes crosse standes*: that is, at the head of the alphabet. ‘*La croix de par dieu*. The Christ's-crosse-row; or Horne-booke wherein a child learnes it.’—*Cotgrave*.—F.

p. 36, l. 3. *mistrisse her necke*. This absurd form of the possessive case came in from the mistake in the masculine, ‘Robin good-fellow *his newes*,’ p. 49, &c., as if the genitive *-s*, *-es* was contracted from *hi-s*. In the second text of Layamon’s *Brut* are many of these genitives in *his*, some of them to feminine nouns. They arose from the scribe of that MS. being very fond of *h's*, and putting *h* on to the genitives in *-is*, which *-is* was often written apart from the crude form of its noun.—F.

p. 36, l. 11. *nor so many yeeld uppe the possession of their garmentes to the hangman*. “There was a curst page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his cloaths; and when his master bad him, ‘take them you, for they are the hangman’s fees.’”—Bacon’s *Apophthegms*, No. 69, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, 1802.—S.

p. 39, l. 3. *Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori*.—Virgil, *Ecl. x.* 69.—S.

p. 39, l. 12. *that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies*. The reflected images of himself seen by a lover in the pupils of his mistress’s eyes, or *vice versa*.

Cf. “So when thou [Love] sawst in natures cabinet Stella, thou straight lookst *babies in her eyes*.”—Sidney’s *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet xi. ll. 9-10.

In Massinger’s *Renegado*, II. iv, p. 129, col. 1, ed. Gifford, 1840, Donusa says to Vitelli, “When a young lady wrings you by the hand, thus, Or with an amorous touch presses your foot, Looks *babies in your eyes*, plays with your locks, Do not you find without a tutor’s help, What ‘tis she looks for?”—S.

p. 43, l. 14. ‘Thirteen Pence Halfpenny was considered as the hangman’s wages very early in the 17th century. How much sooner, I have not noticed. “‘Sfoot, what a witty rogue was this to leave this fair *thirteen pence halfpenny*, and this old halter, intimating aptly,

Had the hangman met us there, by these presages,
Here had been his work, and here *his wages*.”

Match at Midnight, Old Plays, vii. 357.

“If I shold, he could not hang me for’t; ‘tis not worth thirteen pence halfpenny.”—J. Day’s *Humour out of Breath*, sign. F. 3.—Nares.—F.

p. 55, l. 22. *Greenes Cunnyberries*, Robert Greene’s Coney-burrows, alluding to his four Coney-catching tracts: I. A Notable Discouery of Cosnage, 1591; II. The Second Part of Conny-catching, 1591; III. The Third and last part of Conny-catching, With the new deuised knavish arte of Foole-taking, 1592. IV. A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conney-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whorer is

most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth. Discouering the Secret Villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed this present yeare 1592.—*Hazlitt*.—F.

p. 55, last line. *then on goes her pantoples*. “Such is the Nature of these nouises that think to haue learning without labour, that for the most parte they stande so on their pantuffles, that they be secure of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintance without cause, and to condemne them without colour.”—*Euphues*, p. 47, ed. Arber.

Sander. . . “Why looke you now, ile scarce put up plain Sander now at any of their hands ; for and any body have any thing to do with my master, straight they come crouching upon me,—‘I beseech you good M. Sander speake a good word for me,’—and then I am so stowt and take it upon me, and *stande upon my pantoffles* to them, out of all crie, why I have a life like a giant now.”—*Taming of a Shrew*, p. 174, ed. Nichols, Six old Plays.

“Standē thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet.”—*Euphues*, p. 117.—P. A. DANIEL.

p. 68, l. 7 from foot. *willing her, . . . either then or never to consent to the saving of all their lives*. Abduction was punishable with death. By statute 39 Eliz. c. 9, principals, procurers, or accessories before the fact, were deprived of benefit of clergy. See Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, ed. Kerr, 1862, iv. 231.—S.

The preamble of the Act of Elizabeth, passt in 1597, illustrates the story in the text, and runs thus :—

“Whereas of late times diuers women, as well maydens as widowes, and wiues hauing substance, some in goods moueable, and some in lands and tenements, and some being heires apparent to their Ancestours, for the lucre of such substance bene oftentimes taken by misdoers, contrary to their will, and after maried to such misdoers, or to others by their assent, or defiled, to the great displeasure of God, and contrary to your Hig[h]nesses Lawes, and disparagement of the said women, and great heauinesse and discomfort of their friends, and ill example of others ; which offences, albeit the same be made felonie by a certaine act of Parliament made in the third yeere of King Henrie the seventh : Yet forasmuch as Clergie hath been heretofore allowed to such Offenders, diuers persons haue attempted and committed the said offences in hope of life by the benefit of Clergie¹ :—Be it therefore enacted &c.” Christopher Barker’s edition of 1597, sign. E. This edition contains two acts more than the Record Office one, namely, “26 An Act for confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergie. 27 An Act for the grant of three entire Subsidies, and sixe Fifteenes and Tenthis granted by the Temporalitie.” Chap. 7, ‘An Act for the more speedie payment of the Queenes Maiesties debts’, looks as if Q. Elizabeth was insolvent : but

¹ Education the excuse for crime ! The doctrine sounds odd now.

'the Queen's debts' were debts due to her, like 'the Queen's traitors' were traitors against her.—F.

p. 69, l. 8. *the counsell Table*. The concilium ordinarium, commonly known as the court of star chamber, a branch of the privy council which assumed jurisdiction over many offences cognizable in the ordinary law courts. See Hallam's *History of England*, vol. I. chap. i.—S.

p. 69, l. 8. *she tolde so good a tale for him, &c.* If a woman was married by her abductor, she was allowed to give evidence against him of the abduction, contrary to the then general rule that a wife's evidence could not be received against her husband. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 231.—S.

p. 71, l. 10 from foot. *cooling card*. So Suffolk in *I Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 83: "There all is marr'd; there lies a *cooling card*." Not Shakspere's.—F.

A letter from Euphues to Philautus is entitled, "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers."—*Euphues*, Arber's ed. p. 106. "Card. (2) A chart. Harrison, p. 39."—Halliwell's *Dict.*—S.

p. 75, l. 3 from foot. *a tantinie pigge*. St Anthony's. See Brand's *Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 200, note a, col. 2. And "St. Anthony's church in Threadneedle street, belonging to an hospital of that Saint, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Vienna as early as Henry III. The foundation was for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. . . The proctors of this house used to collect alms, and take from the market people lean or ill-conditioned pigs, which they turned abroad with bells about their necks to live upon the public,—whence the saying *an Anthony's pig*, and when fat, they killed them for the use of the hospital."—Stowe's *Lond.* p. 190, in Nichols's ed. of E. Perlin, *Descr. d'Angleterre* 1558, repr. 1775, p. 13. See the Index below, p. 209.—F.

p. 82. To compare small things with great, set this page beside Julia's description of her lovers in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii., and Portia's of hers in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii.—F.

p. 83, l. 7. Smithfield (or smooth-field, an etymology sanctioned by Fitz Stephen, who describes it as *campus planus*) was celebrated for many centuries as a market, and the cheating carried on there, more especially in the sale of horses, was long notorious. A 'Smithfield horse' was the cant name for a particularly bad bargain. Falstaff tells us that his horse was bought at Smithfield (2nd part of *Henry IV*, act I. sc. ii. ll. 56-7), and Pepys speaks "of the craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses," *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1668. And see under Dec. 11, 1668.—H. B. W.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *a Smithfeelde horse*. Smithfield was noted for its horse-fairs (p. 87, l. 2 from foot); and at them, as at all other fairs, the buyer takes his chance.

"The Londiners pronounce woe to him that buyes a horse in Smythfield, that takes a servant in Pauls Church, that marries a wife out of Westminster" [noted for its stews].—Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Pt. 3, p. 53. On the Fair in Smithfield, see *Bartholomew Fair*, 1641.—F.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or jadish.* “heere [to Smithfield] comes many Horses, (like Frenchmen) rotten in the joyns, which by tricks are made to leape, though they can scarce go ; he that light upon a Horse in this place, from an olde Horsecourser, sound both in wind and limbe, may light of an honest Wife in the Stews : here’s many an olde Jade, that trots hard for’t, that uses his legs sore against his will, for he had rather have a Stable then a Market, or a Race.”—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton, 1632, pp. 36-7.—S.

p. 85, l. 3. *let them have their willes ; or they will, whether you will or no.* Compare Andrew Boorde’s *Breuiary*, Fol. lxxxii. back, “therfore, *Vt homo not cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay,” p. 68 of my edition, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.—F.

p. 91, l. 2. *Kemps head.* An account of William Kemp will be found in Variorum Shakspere, ed. 1821, vol. III. p. 197.—P. A. D.

p. 91, l. 9. *Knackes to knowe knavez by.* “A knack how to knowe a knave,” one of Kempe’s works ?—P. A. D.

p. 113, l. 73. *Ovid could testify, &c.* Ultima cœlestum, terras Astræa reliquit.—Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, I. 150.—S.

p. 113, l. 84. *carnall vice . . . in the Popes great hall.* On the lechery and sodomy seen in Rome by Andrew Boorde, see my edition of A. B., p. 77, with the extract from Thomas’s *History of Italye* in the note there.—F.

p. 118, l. 216, *gigge, jig.* Cp. in Arber’s *Transcript of the Stationer’s Registers*, iii. 49, 50, “A pretie newe *Jigge* betwene Francis the gentleman, Richard the farmer, and their wyves,” Oct. 14, 1595 ; and on Oct. 21, “a ballad called *Kemps newe Jygge* betwixt a souldiour and a Miser, and Sym the clown.” “The word ‘jig’ is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon ; and in old English literature its application extended, beyond the tune itself, to any jiggling rhymes that might be sung to such tunes. The songs sung by clowns after plays (which like those of Tarleton, were often extempore,) and any other merry ditties, were called *jigs*. ‘Nay, sit down by my side, and I will sing thee one of my countrey jiggs to make thee merry,’ says Deloney, in his *Thomas of Reading*.”—Chappell’s *Popular Music*, ii. 495.—F.

p. 118, l. 230. Seven Deadly Sins. Compare ‘The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London : Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, Bringing the Plague with them. Opus septem Dierum. Tho: Dekker. At London Printed by E. A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at his shop neere Saint Austens gate. 1606. 4to, black letter, 31 leaves.’—*Hazlitt*. Also Dekker’s ‘Belman of London,’ 1608 ; ‘Lanthorne and Candelight,’ 1609 ; ‘O per se O,’ 1612 ; ‘Villanies discovered,’ 1616 ; and the successive versions of his ‘English Villanies,’ 1632-48.—F.

p. 121, l. 304. *Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach the heel.* “In the time of Queen Mary, and the beginning of the Raigne

of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for many yeeres before, it was not lawfull for any man either servant or others, to weare their Gowns lower than to the calves of their legges, except they were above threescore yeares of age, but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shoes”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, pp. 1039-40.—S.

p. 121, ll. 307-10. *Bold Bettresse, &c.; p. 122, l. 333. fannes by truls are borne.* “Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffes, Fanns, Periwigs and Bodkins, were first devised, and used in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris” [1572].—*Idem*, p. 1038, col. 2.—S.

p. 126, l. 451. *Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meeete.*

“This field commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in use.

“When every Serving-man from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which hung before him.

“This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeare of Queene *Elizabeth* [1577-8], for untill then it was usuall to have Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, upon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance.

“Especially from the midst of Aprill, untill the end of October, by reason, Smithfield was then free from derte and plashes. And in the Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourely frayes of sword and buckler men who tooke pleasure in that bragging fight ; and although they made great shew of much furie and fought often, Yet seldom any man hurt for thrusting was not then in use : neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler.”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024, col. 1 and 2.—S.

p. 127, l. 497. *Idlenesse.* See Andrew Boorde's amusing 151st Chapter of his *Brewary*, on ‘an euyl Feuer, the whiche dothe cumber yonge persons, named the Feuer lurden.’ His remedy is : “There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is *Vnguentum baculinum*, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wand of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anoynt the bake and the shulders well, mornynge and euenyng, and do this .xxi. dayes,” &c. : see my edition, p. 83-4, and the Index to my *Babees Book*.—F.

p. 129, ll. 562, 564. There were two Compters or prisons for debtors

in the city of London ; each being under the superintendence of one of the Sheriffs. The Poultry Compter stood a few doors from St Mildred's church until 1817, when it was taken down. Stow wrote of it, "this hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof." Wood Street Compter stood on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was first established there in 1555, when the prisoners were removed from the old Compter in Bread Street to the new one in Wood Street. The latter was burnt down in the Great Fire, but rebuilt afterwards. The prison was removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. T. Middleton introduced a reference to the two Compters in his *Phænix*—"for as in that notable city called London stand two most famous Universities, Poultry and Wood street, where some are of twenty years' standing and have took all their degrees." Quoted in Cunningham's Handbook of London.—H. B. W. Thomas Nash also praisd the Compter ironically in his '*Strange Newes*,' 1592, (sign. I.) :—

"Heare what I say : a gentleman is never throughly entred into credit till he hath beene there ; and that Poet or novice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authenticall, till it hath beeene seene and allowed in unthriffts consistory. *Grande doloris ingenium !* Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their fathers built them, but I protest I should never have writ passion well, or beeene a piece of a poet, if I had not arriv'd in those quarters. Trace the gallantest youthes, and bravest revellers about towne, in all the by-paths of their expence, and you shall infallibly finde, that once in their life-time they have visited that melancholy habitation. Come, come, if you goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stand under the elbowe of it. I vow, if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chancery." (in Collier's Bibl. Catal. i. 277.)

p. 133, l. 679. *light-taylde huswives*. Compare 'A Dialogue bytwene the commune secretary and Jalowsye, Touchyng the vNSTABLENESSE of Harlottes,' John Kynge [1550-61], Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 400.

"She that is fayre, lusty and yonge,
And can comon in termes with fyled tongue,
And wyll abyde whysperynge in the eare,
Thynke ye her *tayle is not lyght of the seare ?*"

This is Hamlet's 'tickle o' the sere,' the sear being the catch of a gunlock, which when stiff, makes you pull the trigger very hard, but when light, turns it into a 'hair-trigger,' one that'll go at the touch of a hair.—F.

William Goddard's *Neaste of Waspes*, 1615, gives the theatres a bad character too (Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 314) :—

"Goe to your plaie-howse, you shall actors have,
Your baude, your gull, your whore, your pander knave,

Goe to your bawdie house, y'ave actors too,
 As bawdes, and whores, and gulls, pandars also,
 Besides, in either howse (yf you enquire)
 A place there is for men themselves to tire.
 Since th' are so like, to choose theres not a pinn,
 Whether bawdye-house, or plaie-howse you goe in."

As to the round house, compare *The Cries of London* (ib. p. 163, time of Jas. I.)

"The Players on the Banckeside,
 The *round Globe* and the *Swan*,
 Will search you idle tricks of love,
 But the Bull will play the man."

The Bull was 'The Red Bull' theatre in Clerkenwell. The Rose theatre on or near Bankside was also round. See Norden's Map, 1593.—F.

p. 139, l. 7. *Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe, &c.* "Any two *Justices* of Peace may licence such as be delivered out of *Gaoles*, to begge for their fees, or to travell to their Countrey, or friends : and may give licence for fourtie dayes to a *Rogue*, that is marked [branded?] : and may make testimonial to a *Servingman*, that is turned away from his master, or whose master is dead : 14 Eliz. cap. 5 ; and 18 Eliz. cap. 3 ; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11.

... And they may *Licence* diseased persons (living of almes) to travel to *Bathe*, or to *Buckstone*, for remedies of their griefe, 14 Eliz. cap. 5, and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 321-2.

"Two such *Justices* may give licence to *Fencers*, *Bearwards*, *Common players* in Enterludes, *Minstrels*, *Juglers*, *Pedlers*, *Tinkers*, and *Petite-chapmen*, to goe abroad, so as they shall not be taken as Rogues. 14 Eliz. cap. 5 ; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—*Idem*, pp. 341-2.—S.

p. 140, l. 45. *Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.* A reminiscence of Horace, *Od. IV. i. 16.*?—S.

p. 141, l. 1. *folk leaving town after Term.* Compare Lord Campbell's note on p. 23-4 of his *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered*, 1859 :

"Even so late as Queen Anne's reign there seems to have been a prodigious influx of all ranks from the provinces into the metropolis in term time. During the preceding century, Parliament sometimes did not meet at all for a considerable number of years ; and being summoned rarely and capriciously, the 'London season' seems to have been regulated, not by the session of Parliament, but by the law terms,—

'.... and prints before Term ends.'—*Pope*.

While term lasted, Westminster Hall was crowded all the morning, not only by lawyers, but by idlers and politicians in quest of news. *Term having ended, there seems to have been a general dispersion.* Even the Judges spent their vacations in the country, having when in town resided in their chambers in the Temple or Inns of Court. The Chiefs were obliged to remain in town a day or two after term, for *Nisi Prius* sittings ; but the *Puisnes* were entirely liberated when proclamation was made at the rising of the court on the last day of term, in the form still preserved,

that "all manner of persons may take their ease, and give their attendance here again on the first day of the ensuing term. . . ."

See Thomas Dekker's 'The Dead Terme. Or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Tearmes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes of London and Westminster. London, Printed and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgetts. 1608. 4to, black letter, 27 leaves.'—F.

p. 156, l. 19. "Actuary, (*Actuarius*) Is the Clerk or Scribe, that registers the Canons and Constitutions of the Convocation: Also an Officer in the Court Christian, who is in Nature of a Register."—Cowel's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727.

p. 158, l. 6. *Swainmootes of Forrests*. "From the *Sax.* swan, a *swain*, as *Country-swain*, *Boat-swain*, and *gemote*, a Court or Convention. The *Swanemote* was a Court held twice a year [Spelman and Cowel say thrice.—S.] by the forest officers, fifteen days before *Midsummer*, and three weeks before *Michaelmass*, for enquiry of the trespasses committed within the bounds of the forest."—Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1695, Glossary, s.v. *Swanemotum*.—S.

p. 158, l. 12. *The Virdge*. "Verge, *Virgata*, may seem to come from the French *Verger*, *viridarium*, and is used here in *England* for the Compass of the King's Court, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and of the Coroner of the King's House, and that seems to have been Twelve Miles Compass."—Cowel's *Law Dict.* ed. 1727.—S.

p. 158, l. 16. *The Clinke*. "Then next is the *Clinke*, a Goal or Prison for the Trespassers in those Parts, namely, in old time for such as should Brabble, Fray, or break the Peace on the said Bank [the Bankside, Southwark] or in the *Brothel* Houses, they were by the Inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this Goal, when they were straitly Imprisoned."—Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, II. book iv. p. 8, col. 1.—S.

p. 159, l. 9 from foot. *And here I remember me of an old tale.* This story will be found in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 34, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, ed. 1802, p. 12.—S.

p. 163, l. 12 from foot. *An Enginere for making of Patars*. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, I. p. 402) gives an engraving of "Pierriers, vulgarly called Pattereros," and says, "Chamber'd pieces for throwing stones, called cannon perriers . . . were about this time [Edward VI. reign] much used in small forts, and on shipboard."—S.

p. 171, l. 1. *Sir John Hawkins' hospital at Chatham*. An hospital for decayed mariners and shipwrights was founded by Sir John Hawkins, in 1592, in which twelve pensioners have each a separate house, an allowance of eight shillings per week, and an annual supply of coal: the management is vested in 26 governors, of which number five are elective.—Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.—S.

p. 175, l. 2. *Navibus atque, &c.* Hor. *Epp.* I. xi. 28—30.—S.

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 head, Borsholder, and Tithingman,
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STAFFORD'S
EXAMINATION OF COMPLAINTS.

A.D. 1581.

SERIES VI.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND.

TEN

PRESENTED

BY THREE MEMBERS

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

TO

THEIR FELLOW MEMBERS.

151

L

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S
Compendious or briefe
Examination of certayne ordinary
Complaints
of divers of our Countrymen
in these our Dayes,

A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLED
“*A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.*”)

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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[This treatise by “W. S.” is assigned to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood’s *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, 1767, “I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet.”—*Variorum Shakspere*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

FOREWORDS.

OF the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspere's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing¹ was Stubbes's *Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583—95*; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique² *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tel-troths Message, and his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's³ unique² *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspere Society's *Shakspere's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series planned for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspere Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken :

“The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

“A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most evidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

¹ Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspere Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Coneycatching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

² Believ'd so to be.

³ Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hymble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as evidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.¹

¹ The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspere's time:—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865.

Early English Pronunciatiōn, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10s. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Acadēmy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13s. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternitey of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (describing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7s. 6d. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babees Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6s. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works):—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18s. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12s. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplcacyon of the Beggers, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12s. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlandne, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10s. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse o

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness¹ of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth² in any year near 1581, is

certen wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Cite of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9s. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England :—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwiik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto his freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaint of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D. (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspere's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

¹ This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

² The chief dearth in Shakspere's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposed allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposed to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

vi Forewords. High prices in 1574. Stafford's book.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition)—but the rise in prices was only for a short time:¹

An. reg. 16.
1574.

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fife shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as fife herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape: bay salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

Bay salt deare

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell: at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeaer after; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fife, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beeene seene or heard within this realme."

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class—a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspere's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.² As Mr Matthew has

¹ Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587:—

^{1587;}
Proclamation for
graine.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall *dearth* of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonablenesse of the yeaers past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for relief of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was sold at London for 8s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10.s., 12.s. 13.s. &c.

² Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in:—

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to soure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fist yeere of King Edward the sixt, called doun, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence: and in the seconde yeere of Queene Elizabeth called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

(A.D. 1544.)
(36 Hen. VIII.)
Base money
coined.

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King Henry the eight, and king Edward the sixt) was proclaimed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence: which tooke effect immedately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

1551.
First fall
of the base
money

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—*ib.*¹

Second fall of
base monies.

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 note, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature:

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base prycē to the breeders thereof as the corne is; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne: another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

¹ On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says:

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer: a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

¹ Mary.
New Coines.

viii Forewords. Base money calld in. Good coind.

The third and
last fall of base
money.

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoyned for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had bee abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte ; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing ; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny : these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money ; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoyned or vsed in Englannde,—which had bee vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoeuer, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

1561.
An. reg. 4.
New Coines.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation¹ for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings : and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne : whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekly brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates : and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines ; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound : all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspere (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thankt her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspere's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s. ; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

¹ See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*¹ (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent:' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name :

"Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden² and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his unduetifull behaviour."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.³

¹ In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*', 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &c. Lond. 1581.*"

² Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says : "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

³ Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons. Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsingham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to the plot.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

x Forewords. Wm. Stafford not Lady Dorothy's son.

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followd Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Conceit of English Policy*. But he offerd no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court,' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who baggd every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford¹, when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1533-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co. Reg. I p. 531.]

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is, 1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

¹ Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin ;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age ; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his¹ *Briefe Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeanour.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court² ; and his elder brother Edward,

¹ Why his ? Where is the evidence ?

² What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c. ?

P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton, 25 July, 1876*, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes :

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his acknowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court ; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your brother's favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

xii Forewords. Mr Greenfield on a Wm. Stafford (2).

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works¹: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantie Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and '*The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr*' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of his Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90*l.* Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in 1598*, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., s.p. in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

¹ Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Concept* in 1581?

Forewords. Our Wm. Stafford not identifiable. xiii

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders: firstly to her younger son John, and his issue; then to her Son William, and his issue male; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt.; her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 Eliz. p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., s.p., who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton.*'

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically; for surely, only as a parson could he have there uttered what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace¹ of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions express'd in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold!

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby return'd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 St George's Sq., N.W., July 10, 1876.

¹ I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrend'rd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615,
p. 768, col. 2 :

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great shoures of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. James day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which **dearth** happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonablenesse of the weather passed.

Great raynes

Bridges at
Cambridge and
at Ware borne
downe.

Price of graine
greate, when
God sends
plenty.

^{1595.}
Dearth of corn
& other victuals.

Disordered
youths punished.

Dearth of vic-
tuals.

An. reg. 40.
Pepper 8.s. the
pound.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoeuer was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other yoong people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beeene accustomed,* tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd yoong men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment

In this time of **dearth** and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three eggs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.¹

¹ The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1 :—

This yeere, against Cl.xmas, Pepper was solde at London for eight shillings the pounde, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare sold for six pence the pounde: Gascoyne wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for four shillings the Gallon, &c.

ib. p. 782, col. 1. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell.

A Dearth of
corne.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings : Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence ; but then arose againe the late greatest price.

Great prizes of
bred Corne.

p. xi. *William Stafford (2), Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.* The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause, I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if you wold undertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due vnto your personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisoners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. William Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. prisoners one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

IN all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of ‘dearth,’ but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.¹ Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. “These many yeares past,” we are told, “we had Corne good cheape inough,” and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

¹ Compare Harrison’s *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now ; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain : thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.¹ This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

¹ Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.¹ Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage; “one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do.” It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author’s own words, “we see the countreyes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre,” &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford’s views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

¹ Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent : in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures¹ to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations ; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft ; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs ; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

¹ It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint*: "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."¹ What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

¹ Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.

A COMPENDI-
ous or briefe examina-
tion of certayne ordinary com-
plaints, of diuers of our country men
in these our dayes: which although
they are in some part vnust & fri-
uelous, yet are they all by vway of dia-
logues throughly debated &
discussed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstrete,
neere unto Sainct Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marshie.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

[ On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon : "Quarterly, 1st and 4th, France, viz. Azure, three fleurs de lis, or; 2nd and 3rd, England, viz. Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or; the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England." The letters 'E. R.' are placed underneath.
I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde for the Early English Text Society.—F. J. F.]

TO THE MOST VER-

[¹ This page is registered ••]

tuous and learned Lady, my most
deare and Soueraigne Princesse ELI-
ZABETH, by the Grace of God,
Quene of England, Fraunce, and
Ireland : Defendresse of the
Fayth. &c.



Hereas there was never anye thinge hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and furnysyd matter, sustayned the reprehension of some eniuious persons or other : I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Princeffe, that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe fithence scattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill-disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes ; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficienly refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences : so are they most certainely condempned by the common consent of all such as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be of it selfe so cleare and manyest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbeare (most renowned soueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maiesties late & singular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bountie towards me by exhibiting vnto you this small and simple present : wherein as I haue in²deuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[² leaf **, back]

The Epistle.

thereof: protestinge also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought which may in any wise founde prejudicall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as I coulde, to stope the mouthes of certayne euill-affected persons, which of their curiositie require farther satisfaccon in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaninge towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake this enterprise, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to shewe myselfe vnkilfull to others, then vntankfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to commit the same to your gracious protection, fully perwading and assuring myself, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the same. God preferue your Maiesy with infinit increase of all his blessings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you haue already sufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contention (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects, and to the perfect establisshing of this florishing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

Y O V R M A I E S T I E S

most faythfull and

louing Subiect

W. S.

**A Table of thynges
most notable contained
in this Booke.**

[This leaf is
registerd ••ijj]



| | |
|---|-------------|
| Hat no man is a straunger to the Common- weale that he is in. | 1.a [p. 11] |
| That of many heads is gathered a perfect coun- sayle. | 1.b [p. 12] |
| That every man is to be credited in his owne arte. | 1.b [p. 12] |
| Why the Booke is made by way of dialogue. | 2.a [p. 12] |
| The summe of the whole Booke. | 2.a [p. 13] |
| That men are not borne to themselues onely. | 3.a [p. 15] |
| The complaint of Inclosures by husbandmen. | 3.b [p. 15] |
| The complaint of dearth of victuall by artificers. | 3.b [p. 16] |
| Ihe complaint of the decay of townes by Marchauntmen, and of all other common easements. | 4.a [p. 16] |
| That many superfluous charges are layde downe, and yet neuer the more plenty. | 4.a [p. 16] |
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| Of dearth of all kinde of victuall. | 4.a [p. 17] |
| That Inclosures should not be the cause of this dearth. | 4.b [p. 17] |
| That Gentlemen feele most grieve by this dearth. | 4.b [p. 17] |
| The complaint of craftesmen against Gentlemen for taking of fearmes. | 4.b [p. 17] |
| The craftmans complaint that hee cannot set men a-worke for the dearth of victuall. | 5.a [p. 18] |
| The Gentleman's complaint how he cannot kepe like coun- tenaunce as he was wont to doe. | 5.a [p. 18] |
| Why Gentlemen doe gieue ouer their housholdes. | 5.b [p. 19] |
| Why Gentlemen doe take fearmes to their handes. | 5.b [p. 19] |
| A complaint against Sheepe. | 5.b [p. 19] |
| The Doctors complaint for men of his sorte. | 6.a [p. 19] |
| A complaint against learned men. | 6.a [p. 20] |

The Table.

[¹ leaf **ij,
back]

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Why learning should be like to decay hereafter. | 6.b [p. 20] |
| Whether a common weale may bee well gouerned without learning. | 6.b [p. 21] |
| That the learned haue alwaies had the fowerainty ouer the vnlearned. | 7.a [p. 21] |
| Whether a man may be wise without learning. | 7.a [p. 21] |
| That learning supplieth the lacke of experiance, and that ex- periance is the father of Wisedome. | 7.a [p. 22] |
| The wonderfull gyftes that we haue by learning. | 8.a [p. 23] |
| That there is no faculty but is made more consummate by learninge. | 8.b [p. 23] |
| How Cæsar excelled al other captains, by reason of his great learning ioyned with his proweffe. | 8.b [p. 24] |
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F I N I S.

A Briefe conceipte touching
 THE COMMON WEALE
 OF THIS REALME
 OF ENGLAND.

[Fol. 2]



ONSIDERING THE diuerse and sundry complaints of our countreimen in these our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compasse of these few yeres lately past, I thought good at this time to set downe such probable discourse

for the occasion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of founde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the consideration and reformation of the same doth especially belong; yet, knowing my selfe to bee a Member of the same Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may, I cannot recken and account my selfe a meere straunger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might say, that because he is not (percase) the maister or Pylate of the same, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe suffycient leasure from other busynesse, mee thought I coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publishe & make relation of such matters as I haue hearde throughly disputed herein.

Firſt, what thinges men are moſt grieued with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that ¹haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeakē to the purpose: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

No man is
straunger to
the common-
weale he is
in.

[Fol. 1, back]

A briefe Conceipt

perceau, another doth discouer; the giftes of wits be so diuerse, that some excelles in Memory, some in Inuention, some in Iudgement, some at the first sight ready, & some after long consideration; & though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all these (the best of euery mans deuise being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleasaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whose Judgements I would wyshe to bee cheyfly esteemed herein; but also Marchaunt men, Husbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyse, freely suffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyses in this matter. For some poynctes in their feates they may disclose, that the wyfet in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is most exercysed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, consider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee seene of euery man *that* past by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myffe in his worke, whose Censures hee allowed, so longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vpon them to meddle with an other mans Arte; so, percase, I may be aunswere as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe ¹ my compasse; but, for as much as most of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a comon weale, beinge a Member of Philosophy moral, wherein I haue somewhat studyed, I shall bee so bolde with my countreymen, who I doubt not will construe euery thinge to the best, as to vtter my poore and simple conceipt herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and sundry notable men that I haue hearde reason on this matter; and though I shoulde herein, percase, moue some thinges that were openlie not to bee touched, as in such cases of disceptacion is requisite, yet, hauinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a foare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Phyfition, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vpon boldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for boultinge out of the

Of many
heades is ga-
thered a per-
fect counsell.

That euery
man is to be
credited in
his owne
arte.

[* Fol 2]

Why the
Booke is
made by
way of Dia-
logue.

truth, which is vsed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reasons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynst it. I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuersall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; seconde, in boulting out the verye causes and occasions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuisinge of remedies for all the same. Therefore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other persons of late, about this matter, which, because it happened betwene such persons as were Members of every state *that finde themselues grieved now a dayes*, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderstand that *the persons were these*: A Knight, as I sayde first, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed *the communication* in this manner ensuinge:—

The summe of
the whole
Booke.

[Fol. 2, back]

THE FIRST DIA- LOGVE.

Knighte.



Aftre I and my Fellowes, the Iustices of peace of this Commynalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commission touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enquest; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne, which selles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morfell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest husbandman, whom, for his honest and good discretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were come, & had but skant sit downe in a close Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayde Husbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I trust, now forsake my company, though he should fare better with you.

Marchaunt

Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will fende home for a pasty of Venison that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee shalbe so bolde as to make merry with all heere in your company; & as for my guest, hee is no straunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder.

Knight.

Who is it?

Marchaunt.

Doctor Pandotheus.

Knight.

Is he so? on my fayth, he shalbe hartely welcome, for of him we shal haue some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately the Marchaunt fendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryngeth wyth him an honest man, a Capper of the same towne, who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunt; than, after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betwene me and maister Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[1 Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we sat all downe; and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my sayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, Doctor. you that be Iustices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost weekly, and in causinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr husbandry vnlookte to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the prince must be serued, and the common- Knight. weale, for God and the prince haue not sent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe seruice therefore abrode amonges our Neyghbours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that perswasion Doctor. in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying, we be not borne onely to our Plato. felues, but partly to the vfe of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Cicero. Kinsfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures ; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth the Image of God and man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodness abrode, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they resemble nothing of that godly Image, so they study no common vtility of other, but onely the conseruation of them felues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most vnylike them, being most vyle, and lykest to God, being most excellent, let vs study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carkasse, which is like the Brute beastes, but rather the vertues of the minde, wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

That men are
not borne to
themselves
only.

¹ Then, (sayd the Husbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by Husband. me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worse Commissions in hand then this is. So wee had lost more dayes workes at our Husbandry then this.

[¹ Fol. 3, back]

Why so ?

Knight.

Mary, for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all ; for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage ; all is taken vp for Pasture ; for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grainge of Cattell ; in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within lesse compasse then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this seuen

Complaynt of
Inclosures by
Husbandmen.

yeares; and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores; for, by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaint of
dearth of vit-
tayle by Arti-
ficers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficienly liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the best husbande of them can saue but litle at the yeares end; and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and defolation.

Marchaunt.
[¹ Fol. 4]

Complaint of
tovnnes by
Marchaunt men
& of all other
common eas-
mentes.

Many superflu-
ous charges
layde downe
and yet neuer
the more plen-
ty.

Dearth of out-
vvarde Mar-
chaundize.

So bee the most part of all *the* townes of England, Lon¹don onely except; and not onely the good townes are fore decayed in there Howfes, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for such pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue so much to spare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occasions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Revels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stome or barre, & besides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offerings, and many such other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is such a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but also of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fustians, Worsteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearfes, & Tapestry, Spyces of all sort; and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glasse, awell drinckinge and looking, as for glasinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all these doe cost nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Viȝtayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cause of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceave, for I neuer sawe more plenty of Corne, grasse, and Cattell of all sortes, than wee haue at this present, and haue had (as yee know) all thete twenty yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if these Inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth or at
kinde of vit-
tayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat^tell, (as yee say) then it shoulde not seeme this dearth shoulde be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of Corne *that* yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other; yet I confess there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my forte, feele most greife in, which haue no way to sell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the husbandman, you, maister Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, with other Artificers,—may saue your felues meetely well. Forasmuch as all things are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne. But we haue nothing to sell, whereby we might aduaunce the pryce thereof to counteralue those things that we must buy agayne.

Knight.
[^t Fol. 4, back]

That inclosu-
res be not the
cause of this
dearth.

That Gentle-
men feele most
griefe by this
dearth.

Yes, yee rayse the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes also and pastures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, such as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

On my soule, yee say truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper also sayd no lesse; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men since Gentlemen became Grasiers; for they cannot now a dayes (fayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and seruauntes meate and drynke, but it cost them almost double asmucha as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leauue honestly

Husband.
[Capper]

The complaint
of craftes men
against Gentl-
men for taking
of Fermes.

A briefe Concept

[¹ Fol. 5]

The craftes-
mans complaint
that he cannot
set mes a wwork
for the Dearth
of victayle.

Marchauant.

behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children ; and besides *that*, leaue some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to the making of Brydges, & repaying of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Also, some were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners ¹of th'occupations, yea, some time they had such superfluity as they could ouer such bequestes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryste, or to founde a Chauntry in some parishe Church ; and now we are skant able to liue without debt, or to keepe few seruaunts, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are the most parte of these rude people that maketh these vprores abrode, to the great disquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but also of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

Knight.

The Gentle-
mans complaint
hovv he can-
not keepe lyke
countenaunce
as he vvas
vont to doe.

[² Fol. 5, back]

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hospitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, supposing therby *that* the city shold be much releaued, which then was in some decay ; and yet it decayeth still euery day more and more ; whereof it shold be longe, I cannot well tell.

Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cause, so it is as true that I and my forte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cause to complayne then any of you haue ; for, as I sayd, nowe that the pryces of things are so ryfen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayse the prycce of your wares, as the prises of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse ; and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past : I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed ; or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my housholde that is so encreased ouer that it was ; yet in all my ²life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leafes, or by copy graunted before my time,

and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes; so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of the countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our housshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiiii. other persons besides, every day in the weeke; and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundred li. a yeare keepe that house *that we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeaeres past.* And thearefore we are forced, either to minishe the third part of our houseould, or to raise the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes, that is alreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to store it with sheepe, or some other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde estate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increased before all kinde of vituals; & now all togeether, sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Oxen, Kine, swyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheeze; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, besides, reared alldogether vpon the same lande.

Then the Doctor, *that* had leaned on his Elbowe all this¹ while musing, sat vp and sayd, I perceave by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which Capper. trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Yee say troth in dede, we haue leaft cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plentious as we haue bene, the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our livings; yet of the rest we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conscience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say,) yet yee

Why Gentle-
men doe geue
over their
housshoulds

Why Gentle-
men doth take
Farmes into
their handes

Complaint a-
gainst sheepe.

The Doctors
complaint for
men of his
calling.

[1 Fol. 6]

A briefe Concept

know we labour with our mindes, more to the weakening of the same then by any other bodily exercise we shoulde do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sickly be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exercise.

Capper.

[Complaynt against learned men.]

Mary, I wolde if I were of the Queenes counsell, prouide for you well a fine, so as you shoulde neede take no diseafe for lacke of exercise ; I wolde set you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but set men together by the Eares, some with this opinion, & some with that, some holding this way, & some an other ; and *that* so stify, as though the troth must be as they say, that haue the vpper hand in contention ; & this contention is not also the least cause of former vprores of the people, some holding of the one learning, & some of the other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

[¹ orig. houe]

God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so ; how shoulde the Prynce haue counsfailers then ; how shoulde we haue christian religion taught vs ; how shoul[d] we know the estats of other realmes, & haue¹ conferenc[e] with them of al countreyes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by the benefit of Letters ?

Doctor.

Care not therefore, goodman capper ; yee shall haue few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on.

Capper.

[² Fol. 6, back]

I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne the languages vied in countreyes about vs, *that* we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs ; yea, and *that*² wee might reade the holy scriptures in our mother tongue ; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe little wee had of it, for of dyuersity thereof cometh these diuersities of opinions.

Doctor.

Why learning
should be like
to decay here-
after.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongaes, and to wryte & reade ; and so it appears well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men sendes their sonnes to the Uniuerstyies, they suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a litle of the latin tongue ; & then they take them away, & bestow them to be Clarkes with some man of Lawe, or some Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuerstyies be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occasion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wife and politique

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our Knight policy in warre, prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no learned men in the Realme at all.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so muche won or kept by Doctor. the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee see in all kindes of gouernaunce, for the most parte, the wyser forte haue the fouveraygnyt ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City the wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are mooste commonly placed to gourerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, though their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines ¹doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the Empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why should you thinke it straung, that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stoute men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Bryttons by the Romaines fyrt of all.

There may bee wyfe men ynough, though they bee not learned. Knighte. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wise, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyfe men as yee speake of Doctor. had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other, that yee call so simple, had bene foolyfhe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercysē in warres maketh not euery man meeke to bee a Captayne, though hee trauyle in it neuer so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experiance and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger forte, but their greater experiance?

Yea, experiance helpeth much the wit of men, I confessē. But Knight. what doth learning thereto

Whether a common vyeale
may be vwell
gouerned
wythout learn-
ing.

[¹: Fol. 7]

That the learn-
ed haue al-
way the soue-
aignyt ouer
the vnlearned.

Whether a
man may be
wyse wythout
learning.

A briefe Conceipt

Doctor.

That learning
supplieth the
lacke of exper-
ience, & that
experience is
the father of
Wysedome.

[¹ Fol. 7, back][² orig. fiftyn][³ orig. Cosmo-
graphy][⁴ Fol. 8]

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth also help much to the increase of wisedome; let *that*, then, be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wisedome, & take it as it were *the* father of wisedome, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wisedome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother; for in vaine shoulde experience be had, if *the* same were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can shew you that both exp[er]ience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee must needs graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaseth it; yee confess[e] the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man feeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man feeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncetors, yea, sinc[e] the worlde began. Wherefore, he must needs haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age so euer he be, then so many cases as he feeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee never lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke always to call him to remembraunce of that hee shoulde els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundred yeares must needs haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty², so hee that feeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needs haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundred. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countrys, hath more experience than other of like age that never goeth out of his natvie country. So he that is learned, feeth by Cosmography³, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & vsage of every country in the world, yea, of many moe then is possible for one man to trauayle through, and of these *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipotent; & now I am forced to consider the maruaylous gyttes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vn⁴to man the greatest lack *that* some Wryters haue complayned of, to be

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the grossenesse & wayght of body : where in the first, diuerse beastes, as Harters and many other, and in the last all Byrdes, doe excell man ; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundredth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditie of the life of a thowsand yeares ; yea, two or three thowfandes, by reason hee feeth *the* euentis and occurrents of all that time by Bookes. And if he shoulde haue liued him selfe by all that space, then coulde he haue had nothings els to his commodity, but that experiance of things, the rest had bene but trauayle ; which experiance he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him selfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that space. As to the other poynte, that wee be not so agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might sturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee shoulde purchase by such Peregrinations, as well as wee shoulde if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leſſe trauayle and daunger. May wee not through Cosmography see the situation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with leſſe trauayle then if wee might flee ouer them our selues ; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with ease & pleasure. Can wee not¹ also through the science of Astronome [orig. non] knowe the course of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aspects, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them ? yes, surely that wee may : for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfitt knowledge thereof ? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumsta[n]ces ? (yes in deede), so that out of their writings we learned it ; ²and to the knowledge whereof by sight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or necessary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experiance all dayes of his life ? no not so much as your Feate in warre, sir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Husbandman, but that either of them are so exactly taught and fet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer so perfect in the said Feates but might learne many poyntes

The wunder-
full gyfes that
vve haue by
learning.

[¹ orig. non]

[² Fol. 8, back]

That there is
no faculty but
is made more
perfect by
learning.

A briefe Conceipt

Knight.

moe than euer yee saw before, by experiance in either of them, as you, sir Knight, in *Vigetius*, and you, good Husbandman, in *Columella*.

I say agayne, might wee not haue that in our English tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to schole?

Doctor.

Hovv Cæsar
excelled all o-
ther captaines
by reason of
his great lea-
rning ioyned
wth his pro-
vvesse.

Yea, well ynough, and yet shoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderstanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences, that is to say, of Arithmetique, in disposinge and ordering your men ; and Geometry, in deuising of Engines to winne Townes and Fortraffes, & of Brydges to passe ouer, in the which *Cæsar* excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done ; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coastes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other starres ? and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knowledgē of husbandry, had neede of some knowledge in Astronomy, as vnder what aspect of the Planets, and in the entry of what signe by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber ; yea, to haue some iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graffe, and houfeinge of your ¹Cattell ; yea, of some part of Phisick, called *Veterinaria*,² where by yee might knowe the diseases of your Beastes, & heale them. Then, for true measuringe of lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfitt husband ? Then for building, what Carpenter or Mafon is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to say, the scyence of building ? and to passe ouer the sciences of Logicke & Retoriqe, whereof the first trauayleth about the discusion of the true reason from the false, the other aboue the perfwacion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfitt counsaylor might want neyther ; well, tell mee what counsayl can bee perfitt, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counsaylors haue studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Phylosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called physicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Phylosophy moral ? doth it not teache,

[¹ Fol. 9][² orig. *Veterinaria*]

That knov-
ledge in moral
philosophy is
most necess-
ary for Counsay-
lor.

first, how euery man shoulde gouerne him selfe honestly ; Secondly, how he should guide his family wisely and profitably ? And thirdly, it sheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale shoulde bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counsaylors, that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning ; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of ; [if] men experte in this Science were consulted and followed, the commen weale shoulde bee ordered, as fewe should haue cause to complayne ; therefore sayd *Plato*, that diuine Philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale *Plato*. where either *the Prince* is a Phylosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other lear¹ninge in Knight.
[¹ Fol. 9, back]
 the world, but that these men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phisicke ; whereof the first had all his cunning in Preaching, the second in matters of the spirituall lawe, and the third in phisicke, & in looking on diseased mens water ; mary, yee tell me now of many other sciences, very necessary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before : but eyther there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning.

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences Doctor. now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore others, feeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some prycce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phisicke ; though they cannot bee perfect in any of these, without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched ; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuersities, that first men shoulde bee Bachelers and Masters of Artes, ere they shoulde come to Diuinity ; and these Artes bee the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Musick, and Astronomie ; and now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgment through the foresayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these diuersities of Opinions that ye speake of ; for all beginners in euery science be very quicke and ouer-hasty in geuing their iudgments of things (as expe-

What maketh
learned men to
be so fevve.

Younge studi-
ents bee all-
vvaiies ouer
hasty in vete-
ring their judg-
ments.

Pythagoras com-maunded silence to his disciples for a time.

[¹ Fol. 10]

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geometry should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffred to judge in things to Whom it doth not appertayne.

That it is not learninge suffi-cient, to knowv the tonges, & to vvyte.

[² Fol. 10, back]

rience teacheth euyer man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgments & opinions, they will see nothing that will sounde contrary to the same, but eyther they will construe it to their owne phantasy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his scholers *that* came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for feuen yeares, that by all *that* space they shoulde be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and ¹in this Diuine science, euyer Boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yeare, shalbe suffered, not onely to reason and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and straunge interpretacions vpon the same, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is suffered? Also *Plato* forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe schoole of Dyuniuity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much leſſe any other science, shall be admitted at the first; I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the same *Plato* sayeth to bee an onely cause ſufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is uſed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, ſeruaunts ouer their maifters, and priuate men ouer their Maieſtrates; what Ship can bee longe ſafe from wracke, where euyer man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what houſe well gouerned, where euyer ſeruaunt will bee a maifter and a teacher? I ſpeake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Capper) ſet little by learninge, but also that I ſee many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne *the* tongues; whom I can reſemblle well to thoſe men that eſteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they ſeeme to take the bright Sunne from *the* Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for the same is no more neceſſary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuitiy, Wifedome, and Policy amonſte men. And aſmuch as reaſonable men doe excell all other creatures by *the* gyft of Reaſon, ſo much excelleth a learned man ²any other, through the poſhing and adorning of Reaſon by theſe Scyences

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my Knight. company at this time, for of a wise man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee fayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the* world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be *the* cause thereof?

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same ; that was, Doctor. where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade ; another cause is, *that* they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary, *the more learned, the more troubles, losses, & vexations they come vnto.*

Why learning
should decay.

God forbid ! How so ?

Knight.

Doctor.

Mary ! haue you not feene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue rysen in controuerzie ? haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd against that were put to trouble ; and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other *that prospered before, put to trouble, for saying their mindes against this latter opinion ? & so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether fide souuer hee were, except it were some weatherwise fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as *the more & stronger part did chaunge theirs* ; and what were they that came to these troubles ? the singularest fellowes of both parties ; for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such, who seeing in steede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hindraunce, recompensed for a reward of ¹learning ; will any either [Fol. 11] put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than this ? or, what scholer shall haue any courage to² study to come to [orig. col.] that ende ? the rarity of scholers and solitude of the Uniuersities doe declare this to be truer then any man with speach can declare.*

Then, I perceauie every man findeth himselfe greeued at this time, Marchaunt. & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceauie. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before ; tle Artificers cannot set so many a worke, by reason all maner of

That every
state findeth
himselfe gree-
ued.

[Debasing of our coin.]

Doctor.

That Marchaunts best
sane themselues in every
alteration.

Of our olde
Coyne exhaus-
ted.

[*orig. Oppo-
nition*]

Knight.

Doctor.

[² Fol. 11, back]

Whether it
make any mat-
ter of vwhat
mettall the
Coyne bee
made of.

[Rise in prices :
Cap, 14d. to
30d.; shoes, 6d.
to 1s; horse
shod, 6d. to 10d.
or 12d.]

victayle is so deere ; the Husbandman, by reasoun his Lande is deerer rented then before ; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer sea ; which great derth (I speake in comparison of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a stay, euer after that basenesse of our English Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

I doubt not, but if any forte of men haue licked themselues whole, yee bee the same ; for what oddes so euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can espy it straight ; for example, because yee touched somewhat of *that Coyne*, as foone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunfed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea ; raked all the olde Coyne for the most parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, so as litle was lefte bee hindre within this Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorte space, which, in my Opynion,¹ is a great cause of this dearth *that hath bene fince of all things*.

How can *that* be ? what maketh it to the matter what forte of Coyne we haue among our felues, so it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather ?

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also the ²prooфе & experience hath already declared the same ; but nowe wee doe not reasoun of the causes of these griefes, but what states of men bee grieuen in deede by this dearth of things ; and albeit I heare euery man finde him selfe grieuen by it in one thinge or other, yet, considering *that* as many of them as haue wares to sell, doe enhaunfe as much in the pryce of thinges that they sell, as was enhaunfed before in the prices of things that they must buy ; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will sell deere againe ; so these Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue respect large ynochough in sellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue sene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. shillings fixe pence : of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryfen. Now, a payre of shooes cost twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for fixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horse shooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue also seene the common pryce was fixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderstante that these men haue greatest

greife by this common and vniuersall dearth, but rather such as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, seruинг men to forty shilings a yeaſe; and Gentlemen, whose landes are ſet out by them and their Aunceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of yeaſes, ſo as they cannot enhaunce *the rentes* thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee ſpeake nothing of all this while, as he hath moſt of yearly Reuenewes, and that certayne, ſo ſhould thee haue moſte loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of ſeruaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they ſhould pay him pinnes weekly, where before they payde him pence,^[1 Fol. 121] I thinke he ſhould be moſt loofer himſelfe; ſo wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the moſt part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettinges in this base Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *that* will go as farre as good Money in the Prouifion of neceſſaries for her ſelue and the Realme. I thinke plainly no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maiesties ſubiects; yea, ſince her Maiesty muſt haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges neceſſary, not onely for her graces houſhold, and Ornaments aſwel of her perſon and family as of her horſes, which percaſe might bee by her Grace ſome-what moderated; but alſo for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be ſpared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) ſome Hand-gunneres, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can recken, which her Grace ſometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prixes that the ſtraungers will ſet them at. I paſſe ouer the enhaunſment of *the charges* of her Graces houſhoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I ſay,) her Maiestie ſhould haue moſte loſſe by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loſſe, but daunger to the Realme and all her ſubiects, if her Grace ſhould want Treasure to purchase the taide prouifion and neceſſaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men are
moſte pinched
by this common
Dearth.

That the
Prince hath
moſte loſſe by
this common
Dearth.

[1 Fol. 121]

What daunger
ſhould it be to
the Realme if
the Prince
ſhould want
Treasure in
time of neede.

in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

Capper.

Wee heare say that the Queenes Maiestyes mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shée supplieth that lacke by Subsidies and impositions of her ¹Subiects, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her Subiects haue it.

Doctor.

Yee say well there, 'so long as the Subiects haue it,' so it is meete the Queene shoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treasure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose *the* profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull *the* wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue little to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the Prynces furyt; and wee fee many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are moued to sedition, partly by occasion of the same.

Knight.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meeete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with the whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue ensearched the very sores and grieues that euery man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them; and *the* causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be foone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges.

Doctor.

[*orig. columnation*]

A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satissie your pleasurs, & though this ²communication (percase) shoud doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man, sith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

Knight.

[3 Fol. 13]

No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the Beames or Raf³ters of the same, and would ensearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, awell for his owne sauegarde as for others? but, forasmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

A recapitulati-
on of the com-
mon grieues.

the findinge out of the grieves, which, as farre as I perceave, standeth in these poyncts, (that is to say) dearth of all things in comparison of the former age, (though there be scarfenes of nothinge), desolation of Countryes by Inclosures, desolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuision of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freshe, and coole fitting for vs in the shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leafure. And I will bespeake our Supper here with myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the rest of the company), for wee are weary of fitting here so long. And so wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: dearth,
enclosures, lack
of work,
divisions in
religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the causes or
occasions of the sayd grieves are en-
creased

Knight.



Hen we had walked vp and downe in the fayd Garden a pretyn whyle, I thought long till I had heard more of the fayde Doctors communication; for hee seemed to mee a very wise man, not after *the common sort* of thes Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they professē: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phisitions, of phisicke onely; this man spake very naturally of every thinge, as a man vniuersally seene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I desired him and the rest of our faide companions, to resorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and first to discourse & search out what should be *the causes* of the faide common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges (in comparison of the former age), saying to *the Doctor* thus: I maruayle much, maister Doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth, seeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) so plentifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell then there is nowe of all sortes; and yet there is scarfity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a
maruaylous
Dearth that
commeth in
time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused vpon, and worthy of Inquisition; let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee shal heare myne.

Husband.
[1 Fol. 14]
 The occasion
of this dearth
is layde to the
Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth ¹groweth, by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height, as men that liue thereon must needs sell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to Knight, rayse our Rents, by reason wee must buy so deare all things that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Goose, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter and Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeres? Cannot you, Neighbour, remember, that within these xxx. yeres, I could in this towne buy the best Pigge or Goose that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue pence; a good Capon for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which now costeth mee double & triple the money? it is likewise in greater ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

From the Gentlemen it is layde to the Husbandmen.

[Great rise in prices lately.]

I graunt that: but I say you & your sorte, men of landes, are the Husband first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes.

Well, if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, *that shalbee holpen; Knighte.* vndertake that you & your sorte will sell all things at the price yee did xxx. yeres agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at *the rent* they went at xxx. yeres past; and that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen, then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunsed, for some haue takings therein, as Leafes, or Copies not yet expyred, which cannot bee enhaunsed though the owners would; and some Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the olde rent; and yet neuertheleſſe there is none of your sorte at all, but selleth all things they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by *the one halfe*. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunſe their rentes, doe not enhaunſe it generally to the ¹double; though I confesse that some of vs that had landes either gieuen vs by the Kings highnesſe, *that belonged heretofore to Abbeys and Priories, and were neuer furueyed to the vttermoſt before, or otherwise descended to vs,* haue enhaunsed any of them aboue the old rent, yet all *that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.*

The Gentle-
mens excuse
and reasonable
offer.

[¹ Fol. 14, back]

How say yee? hee sayeth well to you nowe; will yee sell your Doctor. wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it. When the husbandman had pawſed a while, hee sayd:

Husband.

If I had the price of euery thing that I must pay for besides like-wife brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor.

Husband.

The husband-
man refuseth,
and putteth ouer
the faulfe
to Iron Mon-
gers, and clo-
thiers.

What thinges bee thoſe?

Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our ſheepe; ſhooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I ſhould buy, neuertheleſſe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereaſter abated, except the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

Doctor.

Then I perceave yee muſt haue *the pryce* of other things qualifiéd, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can afford your ware good cheape.

Husband.

Yea, (but fir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor.

Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one affent agree, that theyr landes ſhould bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee ſayd afore yee coulde not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayfed in other thinges that yee muſt buy; and if ye would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be driuen againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell yours thereaſter, I pray you, how might they ¹be compelled to doe ſo? they be ſtraungers, and not within obedience of our foueraigne Lady, that doe ſell ſuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then conſider mee, if yee cannot ſo compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to ſuffer ſtraungers to ſell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were ſo, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerifhinge of our owne; for they ſhould haue much Treasure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very little; except yee could deuife to make one pryce of our commodities among our felues, and another outwardes, which I cannot ſee how it may bee?

[¹ Fol. 15]
If all Landes
were abated
in their rent,
vwhether this
dearth vwould
be remedied.

That it vvere
not expedient
that ſtraun-
gers ſhould ſel
deere and vvee
ours good
cheape.

Knight.
A nother offer
of the Gentle-
man made to
the Husband-
man.

Husband.
Knight.

Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reaſonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenaunteſ rent bee increased as your payment is increased after the rate, and yet I am contented.

What meane yee by that?

I meane this: yee ſell that yee were wont to ſell a foretime for

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increased after that proportion and rate, that is, for ev ery xx. groates of olde rente, x. shillinges, and so as the pr yce of your wares riseth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde stent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. shillinges iii.i.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee.

I cannot much fay agaynst that; but yet I perceave I shallbe still Knight. a loser by that bargayne, though I cannot tell *the reason why*; but I perceue yee sell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayster Docter, I pray you, for the Husbandman drieuth mee to the Wall.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reason Doctor. of, you draue him to his shifthes; that is, to confess that this dearth riseth not at your hand. And, though hee doe de^lfend him selfe for [¶ Fol. 15, back] his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee seemeth to confess thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to restrayne him, but hee may sell his wares as deere as he listeth. It is enough for your purpose, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hande; but, whether (the pr yces of things increasing as they doe) it were reason yee did rayse your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did sette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouision after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let *that* bee considered of other wise men; but now let vs see, if the Husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges should bee well then. Our Englishe Coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the most parte it hath beene) before that it was restored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the case this, *that* this husbandman should bee commaunded to sell his wheate at viii.d. the bushell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iii.i.d., his pig and goose at iii.i.d., his capon at iii.i.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pr yces in time past haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the same when the price is so fet, will goe as far for the

Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the pr yces of his stufie, this dea[r]th should be then mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were ordred to sell at old pr yces and the Landlord to take his old rent,

sayd wares, whereof *the pryces* be thus set as so much of olde Coine, paide after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieved; well, let us goe farther: The Husbandman must buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and suppose hee should bee also forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were set after the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wynes, Spyces, Sil'kes, Armour, Glasse to glaze his house withall; Iron also for Tooles, Weapones, and other Instruments necessary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerse thinges, more then I can recken without summe; whereof they may in no wise want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the realme* of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without some other of the said commodities wee could liue but groly and Barbarously, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, these must be brought from beyonde the Seas; shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when straungers should see that with leſſe money then they were wont to take for these wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leſſe money when it goeth as farre as *the more* went before, and so sell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they sell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to sell their Veluet at a marke a yard, so they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

Knight.

I would thinke so, for thereby hee should be at no more losſe then hee is now. And so the like reason may serue for Iron, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outward commodities.

Doctor.

If I should aske you this question, whether they should bee com pelled by a lawe to sell theyr wares so or no, what could yee say?

Knight.

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no; & I think they cannot, because they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but seeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they sell for leſſe money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and sell them so.

[^t Fol. 16]

could foreign
wines, glass for
windows, &c.

be bought at
like low prices ?]

¹ Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne ; for I thinke they would sell still at the highest as they doe now ; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee muſt vnderſtand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but ſometimes to ſell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be beſt vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities, where the ſame is beſt cheape; and ſome times to ſell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there moſt deſired, and to goe to ſome other parte of the realme, for the commodities that bee there moſt abundaunt and beſt cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another ; and for *that* purpoſe Coyne vniuerſally currant is moſt commodious, ſpecially if they entend to beſtowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not ſo alowed in other places as it is heere, *the ſtrauenger* ſhould be at greater loſſes if he ſhould take our coyne for his wares, ſo as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might beſtowe when and where he lift. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not ſtudy to bring vs ſuch wares or ſtuffe as ſhould be beſt cheape with them and moſt deare with vs.

Doctor.
[¹ Fol. 16, back]

The ſtrauengers
will take but
money currant
euery Where
for thiſ vware
that they haue
on their
charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts.

Knight.

What ſtuffe is that, trowe you ?

Doctor.

Mary, Glasses of all fortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orengeſ, Knighte. Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and ſuch like tryfles.

Yee ſay well, they will percaſe attempt vs with ſuch & ſuch things as are good cheape with them ; it coſteth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els ſhould be idle ; yet theſe things be ſome what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, and ſuch other, ſuch light wares as yee ſpeake of will not be deſired heere, ²but reieced, and theſe other looked for. what other things els will they bring, trowe you ?

Doctor.

That ſtrauengerſ and all
Marchaunteſ bring thingeſ
that bee beſt
cheape to them,
and deereſt
vviſh vs.
[² Fol. 17]

Percaſe yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spyces ?

Knight.

No, not that, for thoſe bee in good price els where.

Doctor.

What, then, ſhould they haue to vtter to vs, that is beſt cheape with them and deereſt with vs ?

Braſſe, for it ſhould go with them but for Braſſe in dede, Doctor. and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

[¹] Doctor.

[Base coin
made abroad,
and exchangd
for English
goods.]

[² Fol. 17, back.
Catch word
like o.]

Glauci &
Diomedis
permutatio.

He that selles
good cheape
and buieth
deere shall not
lightly thrive.

Knight.

Doctor.

How? in braffe Pots, Panes, and other Vessel of Braffe?

Not so; no man would take such Stuffe but for Braffe in deede.

How then?¹ Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde sea, like in all things to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they see that esteemed heere as siluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Chese, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euyer man will be glad to sell for the most they can get; and beinge offered of straungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs, with whom the price is set; then straungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them selues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geeue thereof for our fayde commodities, as much as yee will aske. Then, though they made not such Coyne them-selues, yet, seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needes haue a consideration of that in the price of *the* fayd outwarde marchaundize that they fell, & also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauste our cheife commodities, and gieue vs braffe for them, where with wee cannot buy such ²other like necessary commodities againe as wee shoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchaunge that Homer sayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harneffe for Brasen. But *the* other way they must needes bee brought to sell their wares deerer to vs, and then, if this husbandeman and Gentleman, and so all other within this realme, shoulde be compelled to sell their things good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot see how they should longe prosper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and sould good cheape, and vse it any long space, to thrive.

There may be searchers made for such Coyners as yee speake of, comming in, and punishments denised therefore; and for goinge forth of Vistayles also, that none shall passe this Realme.

There may be no devise imagined so stonge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both those points, as well in such coyne brought in as in

victailes carted forth; for many heades will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Posterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath but a prety house, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of *the* house neuer so attentiuie, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth; much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauning so many wayes and Posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of theirre wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they sell deere and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselues and impouerishe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our ¹wares in price as they aduaunce [¹ Fol. 18] theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughe some bee loosers thereby; but yet not so many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for so it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente; and therfore I cannot perceave that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good husbandman); for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasng the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Victayle to the olde rate, yet that could not compell straungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue sayde; and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impossible, or else to vse exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and also the Ciuite lawe doth affirme *the* same, which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benift of Coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possi-
ble to keep
our Treasure
from going
forth of the
Realme, if it
be in more es-
timation else
vhere.

¹ Fol. 18)

That the deearth
lose neither at
the Gentleman
nor Husband-
mans hand.

Permutation
of things be-
fore Coyne.

- Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wose hands lieth it to bee holpen then?
- Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but first let vs boulte out the cause of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing should be the cause thereof.
- Capper. Mary! these Inc[!]osures and great Pastures are a great cause of the fame, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, ¹beinge a liuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and also cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. persons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Sheepherds, and the Maister onely, that hath a liuing thereof.
- [¹ Fol. 18, back]
- Complaynt against sheepe-maisters.
- Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be confidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the cause* of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to *the great desolation and weaking of the strenght of this realme*, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the most occasion of any thinge yee spake yet*, of these wilde & vnhappy vprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reason of these Inclosures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all a like, and therefore the people still increasinge, and their liuings diminishing, it must nedes come to passe that a great part of *the* people shalbe idle and lacke liunge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they must needs, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and so stirre these tumultes.
- That Inclosures is the occasion of desolation & vweaking the povver of the Realme.
- Knighte. Experience should seeme to proue playnely, that Inclosures should bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we see the countreyes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northhamptonshyre, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once say, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this saying), ‘that which is possessed of many in common, is neglected of all’; & experience sheweth that Tenaunts in common be not so good husbandes as when euery man hath his parte in feueralty; also, I haue heard say, that in the most countreyes beyonde *the Sea*, they ²knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.
- Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.
- Reasons to defend Inclosures [² Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of Doctor.
 such Inclosures as turneth common & erable fields into pasture, and
 violent Inclosures of commins without iust recompence of them that
 haue right to commen therein; for if lande were feuerally enclosed,
 to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon, and euery man that
 hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* same to him-
 selfe inclosed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, should come there-
 of, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be sodaynely
 done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no
 lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and some re-
 frething vpon the fayde commens, which if they were sodaynely
 thrust out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a
 disorder in the commonweale; and percase also, if men were suffred to
 inclose their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tillage
 within a while after they woulde turne all to Pasture, as wee see they
 doe nowe, too fast.

What kinde of
Inclosures is
hurtfull.

[Poor, without
land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why shold they Knighte.
 not?

I can tel why they shold not, wel ynough, for they may not pur-
 chase themselfes profit by *that* which may be hurtfull to other; but
 how to bring them *that* they would not so doe, is al the matter; for so
 long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will
 still inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (*quoth the Knight*) That
 well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for
the common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.
Whether that
which is pro-
fitable to one
may be profit-
able to all other
if they vse the
same feate.
Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a Doctor.
 lawe therein, so many as haue profit by that matter ressing it. And
 if such a lawe were made, yet men, studying still of there most profit,
 woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

¹ I haue heard oftentymes much reasoning in this matter, and some, Knight.
 in maintenaunce of these Inclosures, would make this reason: euery
 m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to
 one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same
 feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & so to another,
 may be profitable to all, and so to *the* whole commonweale. as a
 greate Massie of Treasure confisfeth of many pence, and one peney
 added to another, and so to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp

[¹ Fol. 19, back]

greate somme; so doth each man added one to another make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor.

[Enclosures profit one man, hurt many.]

That reasoun is good, adding some what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwise; or else stealing or robbing, which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of incloſinge is so, *that* where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudicall to many; therefore I thinke that reasoun sufficiently aunſwered.

Knight.

Alſo, they will laye forth another Reaſon, ſaying, that *that* which is our owne commodityes ſhould bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and theſe ſheepes profit is one of the greateſt commodityes wee haue; therfore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor.

Euerie commodity muſte bee aduaunced ſo as it be not preiudicall to other greater commodityes.

I coulde aunſwer that argument with the like reaſon as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, ſo it bee not to as much more the hinderauance of our other commodityes. Or elſe, where as the breedē of Coneyes, Deere, and ſuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee ſhoule turne all our erable grounde to nouriſhe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Knight.

[¹ Fol. 20]

Doctor.

¹ They will ſay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for ſheepe.

It is a very ill Grounde, but either it ſerueth to breed ſheepe or to feede them vpon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of ſheepe, and none other thinge, where ſhall wee haue our other commodityes growe?

Knight.

Doctor.

All cannot doe ſo, though ſome doe.

What ſhould let them all to do *that* wiſen they ſee ſome do? yea, what ſhould better encourage them thereto, then to ſe them that do it be come notable riche men in ſhort time by *the* doing thereof? And then if euerie man ſhould do ſo, one following the example of another, what ſhould enſew thereof, but a meere solitude and vtter defolatiōn of the whole realme, furnished onely with ſheepe and ſheepardes, in ſtead of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemys *that* firſt would ſet vpon it? for then *the* ſheepe Mayſters & theire ſheep-herds could make no refiſtaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew
Sheep instead
of good Men,
England would
be the prey of
her foes.]

Who can let them to make their most aduaantage of *that* which is Knight.
their owne?

Yes, mary! men may not vfe their owne thinges to the damage of Doctor,
the commonweale; yet for all this that I see, it is a thinge most
necessary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it shoulde bee the
only cause of this dearth, for this Incloſinge and greate graſinge, if it
were occasion of that dearth of any thing, it muſte bee of Corne
cheifly, and nowe theſe many yeareſ paſt we had Corne good cheape
inough. And the dearth *that* was then moſt, was of cattell, as Bieſes
and Muttons; and the broode of theſe are rather increased then dimin-
iſhed by Paſtures and incloſinges.

No man may
abuse his own
things to the
prejudice of
the common
weale.

Why ſhould men be then ſo much offendid with theſe Incloſures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great caufe, for though theſe many yeareſ paſt, Doctor.
through the great bounti of God, we haue had ¹much plenty of
Corne whereby it hath beeene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much
Corne as two moſt commonly were wont to do,—yet if theſe yeareſ
had chaunſed to be but meanely fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we
ſhould haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee haue of other thinges.
And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens.
And if hereafter there ſhoulde chaunce any barren yeareſ of Corne to
fall, wee ſhould bee affuered to finde as greate extremiti in the price of
Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of
other viſtayle. And ſpecially if wee haue not ynough to ſerue within
the Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time paſt,
by reaſon that there is much lande ſince turned to paſture; for euery
man will ſeeke where moſt aduaantage is, & they ſee there is moſt
aduaantage in graſing and breeding then in huſbandry and tillage, by
a great deale. And ſo longe as it is ſo, the Paſture ſhall euer incroch
vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

[The late large
harveſts have
alone ſtopp the
undoing of the
poor.]

And how thiſke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as Doctor.
the profit of the Graſier and ſheepe maiftier is.

How coulde that be done?

Knighte.

Mary, I conieecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the
deuises ſhall ſeeme at the firſt bluſh ſo diſpleiauant vnto you, ere yee
conſider it throughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examyne them;
for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I ſhould

How Incloſi-
ers may be re-
medied vwith-
out constraint
of lauys.

mencion a meane *that* shoulde make some things deerer for the time, I shoulde bee anon reieected, as a man *that* spake against euery mans purpose.

Knighte.

Yet, say your minde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seeme vnreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 21]

Remember what we haue in hand to treate of, not how the prices of things onely may bee broughte downe; but ¹how these Inclosures may bee broken vp, and husbandry more vsed; of the prices of things we shall speake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Doctor.

What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly?

Knighte.

Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Doctor.

It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you, And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe nowe Pastures.

Knight.

What be those two thinges?

Doctor.

Mary, either make as little gaynes to growe by the Pastures as there groweth by the tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be a swell cherisched of euery man as Pasture.

Knight.

And how may that be done?

Doctor.

Mary, the first way is to make the wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* shallbe, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, vnwright, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increase the custome of Wooll that passeth ouer vnwright. And by that the price of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet the price ouer Sea shal be neuer the leſſe; but, that which is increased in the price thereof on straungers, shall come to the Queenes highnēſſe, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieuē them of other ſubſidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunſinge of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as wooll ſhould be; and that might be brought to paſſe if yee wil let it haue as free paſſage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

[Export of corn
to be as free as
that of wool.]

Marchaunt.

By the firſt two wayes, men wouleſſe ſend leſſe wooll ouer ſea then

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes ^[2 Fol. 21, back] custome should be dyniminished ; by your latter way, the prycce of Corne should be much enhaunsed, wherewith men would be much grieved.

I wot wel it would bee deere at the first, but if I can perswade Doctor you that it were reasonable, it were so ; and that the same could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuersally, but greater profit to the same, then I thinke ye would be content it shoulde be so ; and as touchinge the Queenes custome, I will speake afterwarde.

I graunt, if yee could shewe me that.

Marchaunt.

I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate ; and, as I shewed you before, at the first vew would displease many ; for they would say, ‘woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that ? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already’, and such other like reasons would bee sayd. But now let the husbandman answere such againe : ‘ Haue not you Grasiers rayfed the price of your Woolles and Felles ? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayfed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double ? Is it not as good reason, then, that wee should raise the price of our Corne ? what reason is it you should bee at large, and we should be restrayned ? Eyther let vs all be restrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may sell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheefe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which rysfeth all by grasing) at your pleasure, and for the dearest peny yee can get for it ; and wee shall not sell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the bushel, or vnder, that is as much to say, as wee that be husband men shall not sell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for so little as wee shall not be able to liue thereon.’ Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them somewhat ²reasonable ?

Reasons vvhyl
the Husband-
man should
be at like liber-
ty as other to
sell his vwares.

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue spoken in *the* matter more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause therof ; many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbours, that had in time past some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe, some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes ;

[2 Fol. 22]

That by bree-
ding the hus-
band hath most
cleare gaynes.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euer day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in the common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed, of common agreement of all the towneſhip, longe or this time. And to ſay the very truth, I, that haue enclosed little or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a little herd that I haue of Neate, ſheepe, ſwyne, geefe, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde; Whereof, because the price is ſomewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reaſon that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time paſt.

Capper.

Though this reaſon of maister Doctors here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleafeth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maister doctor, ſay, that it were as good reaſon that the Husbandman ſhould reyfe the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the ſame ouer ſea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greatly deny; but that yet I ſay that euer man hath neede of corne, but they haue not ſo much of other wares.

[1 Fol. 22, back]
Doctor.

That profit ad-
uaunceth all
faculties.

Honos alit
Artes.

¹Therefore, the more neceſſary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearliſhed that rearthe it; for if they ſee there bee not ſo much profit in vſinge the plough as they ſee in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another that they ſee more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to paſture, because they ſee more profit by paſture then by tillage. Is it not an old ſaying in Latin, *Honos alit artes?* that is to ſay, profit or aduauncement nouriſheth euerie facultie; which ſaying is ſo true, that it is alowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee muſt vnderſtand alſo, that all thinges that ſhould bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be conſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo, and ſome either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be induſtrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or ſtudious to learne any ſcience or knowledge of the mynde? to theſe thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

if they that be industrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee suffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and so likewyfe they that be learned, be aduaanced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then study, either to bee industrious in bodey labour, or studious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take these rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg *the* ground, or exercise any manuall art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer seaes for any Marchaundise, or vse any facultie wherein any perill or daunger should be, seing his reward shalbe no more then his *that sits still*? But yee wil percase aunswere me, *that* all their reward shal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee must graunt me, *that* as if all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must ¹decaie; so if part of that reward be minisched, the vse of these faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and so they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to deuise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to passe, but as men do se the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that some things in a common weale must be forced with paines, and some by rewards allured) may appeare by *that* which the wise and politique senatour *Tully* wryteth: saying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the feuen wyse men of *Greece*, and of those feuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefly, that is, by reward and Payne; of which words I gather, that men shoulde be prouoked to do good deeds by rewardes and preferments; and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked then they be to exercise *the* plough, but that in processe of time, so many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in feuen yeares, we shoulde then not onely haue dearth, but also skarcenes of corne, that we shoulde be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

That some
things are to
be allured by
rewards, and
some other
with straighte
paynes forced,
in a common-
Weale.

[¹ Fol. 23]

The lesse ho-
nor or profit is
geuen to any
arte, the lesse it
shalbe frequen-
ted.

Tullius in
Ep. ad att

How would yee haue them better clearedisched to vse the plough? Knight.
To let them haue more profit by it then they haue, & liberty to Doctor.

[Free Trade in
Corn needed.]

[1 Fol. 23, back]

sell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things ; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would rise, specially at the first, more then at length ; yet *that* price would prouoke euerie man to set *the* plough in the grounde, to Till waste grounds, yea, & to turne the lands *that* is now enclosed for pasture, to erable ; for euery man will the gladder follow ¹*that*, wherein they see the more gaines ; and thereby must nedes ensue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and also much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof ; And, besides that, plenty of all other viuentall encreased amonge vs.

Knight.

That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor.

Ye haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, *the* hufbandmans profit is aduaunced ; then it is shewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he fees profit ensue ; therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry ; & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must nedes be ; And *the* more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape ; And also the more will be spared ouer *that* which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersall breedee should be of all viuentals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geese, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens ; for al these are reared much on corne.

Knight.

If men shoulde sell, when a good feasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is serued, what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before ?

Doctor.

Fyrst, ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inouge to finde themselues within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same ; and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubte yee not but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in sending it ouer, and sell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must needes be great store ; ²and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouer that

[Husbandmen
sure to keep a
stock of corn in
hand.]

[2 Fol. 24]

serues the realme when *the yere* is plentifull; yet, by reasoun that through the meanes aforesaid moe Ploughes are set aworke then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yeaire; if a scarce yeaire should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yeaire would be more then enough in an vnfruitefull yeaire, at the leaste would be sufficient to finde the Realme; & so should *the Realme* be serued with enough of corne in a scarce yeaire, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be sold ouer for great treasure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeaire we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice *the Realme*. Then if a scarfe yeaire should happen, we must needes lacke of our owne to serue, and should be dryuen to buy from beyond the sea; and then, if they were as eniuious as wee bee, might not they say, when we requyred any corne of them, (that feing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue scarsitie? Surely common reasoun would that one region should helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that one countrey lacketh this yeaire, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the same yeaire, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and societie to growe among all men the more.* but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our selues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee list our selues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & sends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue¹ not the thirde parte to suffice the Realme, and that can in no wise be spared if yee wil occupy husbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and steele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, spycses, lynnyn cloth, filkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility should it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere sufficienly that wee buy now from beyond sea, and many things wee might spare wholly; whereof, if time will serue, I shall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the first poynte I speake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry vp, that is, by basing *the*

[Free Trade in Corn would so increase the growth of corn, that we should have plenty even in a scarce year.]

[God has ordained that one country should help another.]

[We can't live without other countries' products.]

[¹ Fol. 24, back]

and we ought to exchange with them freely]

Whether the
Quee. custome
should be di-
minished by re-
straint of wooll
vnvvrought.

[We must keep
the balance of
trade with
foreigners equal.]

[Fol. 25]

Hauve straun-
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

[Foreign knick-
nacks that we
could well do
without, or make
here.]

estimacion of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may base any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunfing of a better commodity ; but if both commodities may bee inhaunsed together, as by the last deuise I thinke they might be ; I allowe that way better, neuertheleffe, where as you (brother Mercer) shewed afore, that either by restraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunfing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes custome shoulde bee diminished ; I thinke not so, for the one way, as much as she shoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle custome ventred ouer, so much should we haue for the lesse wooll at a greater custome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her grace winne by *the* custome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuise, what, if they should take place, we must doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other things that we haue now from beyonde sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more ¹ of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impouerish our felues and enrich them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his hutbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he felles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it ; what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay ineftimable treasure euery yere, or els exchaunge substantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of *the* which sort I meane as well looking glasse as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouchess, Aglettes, Buttons of filke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like things that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the

realme sufficient for vs ; and as for some things, they make it of our owne commodities and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme : as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerfis ; of our felles they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels ; of our Tinne, Salt-sellers, Spoones, and Dishes ; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges ; Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of These things ? and then for all together, it exceeds myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne* ; nor Kersie, but it must bee of *Flaunders* die ; nor Cloth, but *French* or *Fryseadewe* ; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or *Millen* ; nor Dagger, Swearde,¹ Knife or Gyrdle, but of spanish making, or some outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that felles french or Millen Cappes, Glasses, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dozen in all London ; & now from the tower to Westminster alonge, euery streate is full of them, and their shoppes glitter and shyne of Glasses as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of vessell of the same stiffe,—paynted Cruses, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels ; that it is able to make any temperate man to gafe on them and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie. What neede they beyonde sea to trauaile to *Perowre*, or such farre countreies, or to trie out the sandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *pactolus* in *Afia*, and *Ganges* in *India*, to get amoung them after much labour small sparkes of gold ; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile cliae not farre sought for, and of pryple² stones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not so litle as a hundred thousand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treasure for things of no value of themselues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the same, which are set a worke all on our charges. What grofnes of wits be we of, that se it, and suffer such a continual spoyl to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes ! and specially that will suffer our owne commodities to goe and set straungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy
in requiring
straungers
Wares.

[Foreign goods
that are the
fashion in
England.]

[Fol. 25, back]

The encrease
of haberdash-
ers & miliners
over they vvere
vwoont to be.

[Glittering
glasses, &c.,
tempt buyers.]

How the strau-
gers finde an
easier way to
get treasure by
things of no
value, then by
any mynes of
gould or siluer.
[²pybble,
pebble.]

[What asses we
are, to spend
£100,000 a year
in foreign
houseenses.]

Hovv straung-
gers finde their
nation vvit
our commodi-
ties, and on
our costes.

[Fol. 26]

[Why don't we
make up our own
materials?]

Knight.

[Foreign work,
tho' doubly taxt,
sells cheaper
than ours does.]

Doctor.

Why straungers
may afford
wares better
cheape made
by them, then
vve may the
same made
here, & yet
that it vvere
better for vs to
buy our owne
though they
vvere dearer.

[An English
Paper-maker
undersold by
foreign paper
imported.

^L [The latter should
cou...g been
witho...g
here.] ^{1.]}

back]

to buy them againe at their handes ; as of our Woll they make and die Kersies, Frifadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea, & bryng them hether to bee folde againe ; wherein I pray you note what they doe : they make vs pay at the ende for our owne stuffe againe. Yea, for the straungers custome, for their worke^lmanshippe and colours, and lastely for the seconde custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again ; where as, by working the same within the realme, our owne now should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the samé, yee speake to litle by as much againe ; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though straungers buy their woll deare, & pay twise custome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Whether it come of our floth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Englishmen vse, percase, more then other nations, I knowe not ; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for these wares, then to straungers lesse ; for how little gaines so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare ; but how much so euer the gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all fau'd with in the Realme ; and a like reason as you make now heere, Once a Booke-feller made mee, when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within the realme, aswell as they had made beyond the sea ? Then he aunswere mee that there was paper made a while within the realme. At the last the man perceiued that made it, that he could not afford his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond the sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper ; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made here ; but I would eyther haue the paper staied from comming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte afford their paper better cheape then straungers might do ²theires, the customes considerid.

There, ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Attorney would not agree vnto ; for if such ware were made within the realme, then the

Queenes custome shoulde be lesse, by reasoun that litle or no such wares shoulde come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that shoulde come after, as that which is present afore *the eyes*, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, inestimable treasure shoulde be sauad within *the realme*; and then it could not growe to the profit of the subiects; but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiects is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beste prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie, but rather that commodity that may longest endure without grieve of her subiects.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware shoulde be brought from beyond the sea to be soulde heere, of such things as could be made heere as wel as there.

Yea, forsooth! so would I wishe.

Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thinge was moued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea shoulde bee sould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunswered by a greate wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene *the Princes highnesse & some forraigne Prince*; what thinke you, then, would haue bene said, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond sea, shoulde haue bene sould heere?

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

I cannot tell, whether that shoulde touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you, *that I think it a maruaylous league that shoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects, that might be profitable to them*; ¹ and if there were any such league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, shoulde doe vs good, & being kept, should doe vs harme; and I suppose, that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be esteemed *that might hinder our common weale*.

[¹ Fol. 27]

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made with other Pryaces.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme shoulde not bee soulde there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried hether in straungers bottomes.

Yet, shold they be enforced rather to dissolute their law then we

Doctor.

No league is to be cherisched that is not for the commonweale.

[English exports]

and imports.]

A wyorthy example to be followed in vsing of straungers.

[The Caer-marththen Bayliff who refused to let English apples

be exchang'd for Welsh frysies and wooll.]

[¹ Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we imitate the Welshmen, and refuse to change

our cloths and metals for foreign rattles, &c., but consent to do so for good flax, fish, &c.?]

ours ; for our stuffe is necessary for them *that* is made here : as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheese, pewter vessell, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to serue pleasure then necessity : as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glaffes, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenge, Pippens, and Cheries ; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs then retayned of them : as wynes, filkes, spices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in the Marches of Walles, called Carmarthen, whilen there came a certayne Vessell thereto out of England, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to bryng them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Bote stooode so long in the Hauen without sale or vent, till the Appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale and vent ? the Bayliffe aunswere againe, that the sayd vessell came thereto to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll ; and in stede thereof hee shoulde leauue them in their countrey but appells, that shoulde be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd, 'bring vnto ¹vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof the countrey hath need, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee shall haue free vent and sale thereof in our Porte' : thinke yee that the cities of London, Southampton, Bristowe, Chester, and other moe, might they not learue a good lesson of this poore Welch towne in this doing ? Might not they say, when shippes full of Orenge, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free exchaunge ? and when they bring in Glaffes, Puppets, Rattles, and such like thinges, they shoulde haue like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many ; but if they come for our Wooldes, for our Clothes, Kerseyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyshe, & such like. And not to vse them as men doe little Children, geue them an appell for the best Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empoverished of our treasure & chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceave it ; such is the finenesse of straunger-wits and the groines of ours ; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

no more but chearishe their deuises *that be straungers*; but we haue in times past deuised our selues many other wayes, to our owne impouerishment, and to exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of things (in comparison of former times) and of the manif[e]st impouerishinge of the Realme, and might in short time haue ben *that destruction of the same*, if it had not bene *the rather remedied*, that is, the basing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treasure; whereby we deuised a way for the straungers, not only to buy our Gold and siluer for brasse, and to exhaust this realme of treasure; but also to buy our chiefe commodities [^[1 Fol. 28]in maner for naught; yet it was thought this shoulde haue beene a meane, not onely to bryng our treasure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, so that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Forsooth, and such a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot per-
ceave what hinderance it shoulde be to the realme to haue this mettall
more then that (for our Coyne), seeing the Coyne is but a token to
goe from man to man, & when it is stricken with *the Princes feale* to
be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of,
yea, though it were but Leather or paper?

You say but as most sort of men doe say, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not consider the thinge groundly; for by that reason God would neuer send dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a bushell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him selfe, and also his subiects, made of brasse, to pay for the same; and so to make it as easy for him and his subiects to pay a Crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it shoulde be for them now to pay a penny for the same; and as the pryce of Corne doth rise, the Prince might raise the estimation of his coyne after the rate, and so keepe the coyne alwayes at one estate in deede, though in name it shoulde seeme to rise. As for example, suppose Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bushell, & the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might cause the grote to be called viii.d.; and if the bushel rose to xii.d. the bushel, he might raise the estate of the grote to xii.d.; and so whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Of the coyne,
vwhat harme
might haue
grovynge of the
alteration of it.

[The chief cause
of all our evils is
the debasing of
our coin.]

[1 Fol. 28]

[Coin may well
be any metal,
leather, or
paper.]

[Argument
against a
currency not
based on gold or
silver.]

Doctor.

Knight.

[¹ Fol. 28, back]

by enhauising the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might, if your reasou were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but also all other victualls and necessaries for ¹mans life, always at one price in deede, though in terme they shoulde vary; but yee may see dayly by experiance the contrary hereunto, for when God sendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne easse as for their subiectes; and might soone doe it, if your reasou afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coynes made in mettalles of price, to what summe they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this easily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what estimation it pleased him; but he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderstandinge by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of siluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the first sorte, the sixt part of an ounce, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelft part of an ownce of siluer vnderstandinge; and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we must consider, though gould & siluer be the mettalls commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchaunged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of such wares that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary so much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be ca²ried so farre without perishing of the same, nor proporcioned so euuen, as there shoulde be always neither more or lesse brought of our wares then were equiualent with other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & siluer devised as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least combrous to cary, and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

The substaunce
and quantity is
esteemed in
coyne, & not
the name{Wares are the
subject of ex-
change, tho'
under the name
of coin.][² Fol. 29]Aristo. lib. 5
Eth.

And may be cut and deuided in moste pieces and portions, without any losse, to bee as the mean in Wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuided, necessitie would cause vs to deuide the same way againe. For, put the case there were no vse of money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares, as somtimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue such plenty of things in our realme, as, for example, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheese & Butter, and such other commodities, as were sufficient for vs; and there shoulde remaine with vs such great store that wee could not spend it in our needs, nor keepe it longe without perishing. Would not we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of things *that* could not abyde the longe keeping, for such wares *that* wolde abyde the keeping? which we myghte exchaunge againe for such wares as I rehearsed, or any other as necessary, when scarcitie of the same should happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee shoulde study to haue in that exchaunge such wares as would go in least romth, and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, & be most currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer¹ the things that be most of that forte, I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keping, aptest to receiue any forme, marke, & moste currant in all places, & most easely deuided into many pieces without losse of the stufte? In some of these poynts I confess² precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightnesse of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided without perishing of the substaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide so many daungers without perishing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or stampe easely, nor be so vniversally esteemed; therefore they be not so meeete for Instruments of Exchaunge as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtnesse of cariage might be. And, because Gold and Siluer haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of the whole world, that is knownen to be of any civilitie, to be instruments of exchaunge to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried far or kepte in store to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchanng of thinges, as I

That the necessity of mutual
traffique and
commodity of
exchaung made
Coyne to bee
deuided.

Hom. F. de
emptione &
vendicatio-
ne. Li. I.

[¹ orig. Silt
uer]
Why Gold &
siluer vvere
the stufte most
meetē for
coine to bee
stricken in.

[Precious stones
not so fit.]

[² Fol. 29, back]

Publica men-
sura. Aristo.
Eth.

[Convenience of
a metallic
currency.]

sayd sometyme there was; set this case, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in hys house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or ikarfe yeare shoulde come; and if he did, much of it shoulde perish, or all; were it not wisedome for him then to exchaunge the ouerplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of waft, or deminishing, for the which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge? Yea, no doubt, if there were no vse of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, braſe, or Leadde, or ſuch other like thing that would abide the keeping with leaſt detriment, and would defire to haue that thinge moſt that were in leaſt weight, moſt in value, and in leaſte daunger of wearing or periſhing, & moſte vniuersally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer exceeſes all other mettalles.

Knight.

What makes theſe Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor.
[¶ Fol. 30]

No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both ¹in pleasure and vſe; partly the rarity of them.

Knight.

[The merits of
Silver.]

What be theſe qualities? If yee prayſe the Gold for his weight or pliablenes, Led doth excel it in theſe pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgements (whofe colour reſemblēth the day lyght for his clerenefſe) paſſeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, because it is furtheſt of feene in the Fielde, nor neuer ſeemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer ſo farre of; where all other ſhall ſeeme blacke farre of, and fo looſe the ſtrengthe of theyrowne.

Doctor.

Why Golde, &
Syluer are eſte-
med afore al o-
ther mettalles.

As muſh as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point—I ſpeakē of weight and pliablenes—it is caſt behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either paſſeth Siluer, by ſome other mens iudgements, because it reſembles the colour of the celeſtiall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the moſt excellent thyngeſ that commeth vnder the view of the bodeyly ſences of man; or it is equiva- lenth to it in armes. I know not how much it is eſteemed; well I wote Prynceſ blaſe their armes moſt with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the fame, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of ſo wel, I cannot tel. But now to eſteeme theyr other qualityeſ: Golde is neuer waſted nor conuſomed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can ſay of none other mettalles. Then it weareſ not leſſe by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the stiffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it should draw so black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor scurfe *that* diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth the substaunce of Gold; it abides the freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar without damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as soone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll,¹ as it were Woll; it is easily spred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is also nothinge inferiour in commodity of making vessells or other Instrumentes to siluer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more sweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it serues not onely to make vessells and other instruments, but it is also sponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Vestures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being spon with filke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde exceſſe of clothe of Golde and tyſſie. Now to speake of other mettals, yee ſee what vſes they ſerue for, whych if theſe were away ſhould bee more eſteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commands the fayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more then this. For as they do excel in qualities, ſo Dame nature ſeemeſ to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to ſhew vs that all fayre things be rare, and *that* the fayrefte thinges, as they be hardeſt to be attained, ſo they be moſt to be eſteemed. If a Glaffe (as Erasmus ſayth wel) were as rare as siluer, it ſhould be as deare as siluer, and not without cauſe; who could glafe a Window with siluer ſo as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuertheleſſe receiue the commodity of the light through the ſame to his houſe, as with glaffe he might? And ſo I might command other things for their vſe afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & Steele, with whom yee may make better tooles for mauny neceſſary vſes then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vſes that we talkē of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I paſſe ouer that matter. Thus I haue ſhewed ſome reaſon why theſe mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in estimation aboue other.

[The merits of Gold over Silver.]

[¹ Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of Silver.]

[It is now spun into Church vestments.]

[The scarceness of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.]

[Wer: Glass as scarce as silver, it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.
[1 Fol. 31]

Why Golde &
Siluer vvere
coined.

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33
Cap. 3.

Sometime
brasse, siluer &
Gold yvere
vveighed be-
fore Coyne
made.

Inst. de test.
ord. §. 1.

[Coin markt
to guarantee
its weight.]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why losse com-
meth of cre-
dence.

¹ Why doe Kynges and Princes stricke these mettalles and other with a Coyne? but because they would haue that coyne, of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that *the coine pretendeth*, which they did in vain if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. Then I had as liefe haue smal gadds or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge.

Surely the time was so, (euen amounghe the *Romaynes*, when neither brasse, filuer, nor golde was coined;) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth these vocables of coynes, as *Libra*, *Pondo*, *Dipondius*, as *Solidus*, *Denarius*, wordes of waigthes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending the same weights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in the Ciuile lawe; but, because in great traffique & assembly of buyers, & such, it was tedious to tary for the weighing of these Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with seueral markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to assure *the Receiuor* the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strake *the pounde* weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the ounce*, and so after the variety of the weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, so that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge assured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was signified by the marke set on euery one; the Prynces credite was then such amounghe their subiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with the marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the ounce*, ²a while their credite made those coynes currant. As I read among the *Romaynes* practized more then once, but assoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the one piece* of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to set their seales to the same; while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the feale, and receaue theyr ware, whereby these townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and consequently prospered very well. Afterward, some in these townes, not contented with reasonable gaines contynuall, and desiering more, Deuised clothes of lesse lengthe, bredth, and goodneſſe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the feale to haue as much Money for the same as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credite of theyr Predeceſſors to theyr singular Luker, which was recompenced with the losſe of theyr Posterity. For after these Clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales, they were not onely neuer the better trusted, but much leſſe for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth and falſhoođe was eſpied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enſearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the feale; and yet because they founde them vntrue in ſome parte, they miſtrusted them in other; and ſo would geue leſſe for thoſe clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the same, whereby the credite of the ſaid townes was loſt, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not ſee that our Coyne was diſcredited immeadiately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeareſ of King *Henry*¹ the eyghte, ſpecially among Straungers, whych euer before deſiered to ferue vs afore all other Naſions, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheeſe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the same, either good Golde or siluer, or els as neceſſary commodities agayne; then they ſent vs eyther ſuch trifles as I ſpake of before: as Glaſſes, galli Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and ſueh light ware that ſtandeth them in no charge or vſe, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they ſent vs Braffe for our Treaſure of Golde and siluer, and for our ſayd commodities; I warrant you, yee ſawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before viſed, & no maruayle; to what purpose ſhould they bring siluer or Golde thither, whereas the ſame was not eſteemed? Therefore, I haue heard ſay for a truſh, and I beleue it the rather to

[Some English towns ſtamp their full-measure cloths with a ſeal; and buyers bought by the ſeal only.]

[Then ſome ſcams put the ſeal on ſhort-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the ſeal diſcredited even good cloths.]

[¹ Fol. 32]

[So our base coin was ſoon found out, and then foreigners'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe straungers ſend vs for our Treasurē & chiefe commodities?

[Debased English
coin imported
from abroad.]

bee true, because it is likely, that after that our Coyne was based and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Masses of that transported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and siluer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were suffered, in a small compasse of time?

Knight.

There be searchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for staying of such false Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor.

Hovv our olde
coyne may bee
transported, &
the Prince or
her officers not
knowning of it.
[*Fol. 32, back*]

We deuise the
rediest way to
drive avay
our treasure.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceave the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes balaft, or in some vesselles of Wyne or other Lyquor, transpor'ted either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not searchers; And if they had, they bee not such saintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue such a pryce? was not that the rediest way to drive away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

Knight.

I belieue well, that these were meanes to exhaust *the* olde treasure from vs, which yee haue reiected; but how it should make euery thing so deare among our selues, since *the* time (as yee sayd it doth), I cannot yet perceave the reason.

Doctor.

Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reason hereof wee payde dearer prently for every thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight.

That cannot be denied.

Doctor.

By howe much, thinke you?

Knight.

By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne theyr wares?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thrive; for he that selleth good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thrive.

Doctor.

You haue your selfe declared the reason why things within the Realme proued after *that* time so deare; for wee must buy deare all

things bought from beyond the sea, & therefore wee must sell agayne
as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues.
And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the*
thing maketh it playner; for where yee say that euery thing bought
beyond the sea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was,
do yee not see *the* same proportion rayfed in our wares, if it be not
more?

Why things
vwithin the
realme should
be so deare.

What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as Knight.
deare as wee buy others?

¹ I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse; yea, to some Doctor.
other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some other sort a [Fol. 33]
greater losse then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter
impouerishing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maiesties
power exceedingly.

I pray you, what be those sorts that yee meane? And first of those Knight.
that yee thinke should haue losse thereby?

I meane al these that liues by buying and selling; for, as they buy Doctor
deare, they sell thereafter.

What is the next sorte that yee say would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all such as haue takinges or Fearmes in theyr owne manur- Doctor.
ance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell
after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and sell
all things growing thereof deare. Some had
gaynes by the
alteration of
the coyne.

What forte is that which yee fayde should haue greater losse here- Knight.
by, then these men had profit?

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a Doctor.
stented rent or stypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy
no liuing or selling.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, Knight.
and by course.

I will gladly: firste, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the Doctor.
most part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them
of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may spend now by such Who had losse
reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then
his father, or any other before him, that could spend but nigh CC.li.;
and so yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Counte-
naunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore

Who had losse
by the altera-
tion of Coine.

[¹ Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentle-
men give up
their country-
houses, and get
chambers in
London.]

[12*d.* now won't
go so far as 8*d.*
of old.]

[Yeomen's wages,
—4*os.* a year,
and 2*od.* a week
boardwages,—
are doubled.]

Knight.

[Servingmen.]

Doctor.

[Servingmen's
dress of old.]

Of excesse in
apparell and
fare.

[Servingmen's
gay dress now.]

[² Fol. 34]

[Masters strive
whose retinue
shall be most
gay.]

gentlemen doe study so much the increate of their Lands and enhaunting of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and pastures to their owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to seeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predecef¹fors did, and yet they came shorte there in. Some other, seeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no prouision they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houpholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spend their time, some of them with a seruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his houfe, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other forte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde stmented wages, cannot finde them felues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or spoile.

And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go so far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men so euill willing to serue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Also, where xl. shillinges a yere was honest wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will skante beare their charge.

That is longe of theyr exceffe, aswell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costly in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maisters were wont to doe in times past.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter, and with a plaine white hofe made meete for his body, And with a piece of bief, or some other dishe of fodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the leaft, for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shalbe garded, cut, & stitched; and the breches of their hofe so drawen with filke, that *the work²manship* shall farre passe the pryce of the stiffe. And thys thing is not restrained as it should be, but rather cherisched of the Maisters, on striuing with the other who may bee most proude, and whose retinue may goe most lauish & gay for a time of shewe; whereas through such

excesse they are fayne all the rest of the yere to keepe the fewer seruantes. And so in excesse of meates, they fare at some tymes in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houfes at all, or if they doe it shalbe very smal. Like excesses awell in apparell as in fare were vsed in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, so as wyse men haue thought it was occasion of the decay thercof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerse wyse senatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for restrainte of such excesses; and for that, through the insolencie of some that maintained the contrary, *the same* were not duly executed, much pride ensued there, and of pride, diuision; and through devision, vtter desolation of the common weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, specially London, the head of the empyre, where such excesses (by reasoun the Wealth al-most of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be most vsed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of necessitie keepes men in a good case for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went simply, and our Seruvingmen plainly, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in stede of cuts and Gardes and light daun-
ing Swordes; and when they rode, caryng good Speares in theyr hands, in stede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without strength.

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the realm*, that men be not forced to ride so strong. It was a troblous ¹world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do speake.

What can you tell what time or how sone such a world may come again? Wyse men do say, that in peace men must looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies sure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But sith it is otherwise, and that *the iniquitie* of men is such as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we recken heere in Englande our chiefe strength to be in our Seruvingmen & yeomen, it were wise-dome to exercise them in tyme of peace, somwhat wyth such apparell, rare, and hardenes, as they muste needes sustayne in time of warre,

[Excess in food now.]

[London goes to the greatest excess in dress and food.]

[Light swords for heavy, and white rods for spears, are now carri'd; men are so effeminate.]

[Fol. 34, back]

In peace, looke for vvarre.

[The strength of England is in Servingmen and Yeomen.]

[¹ orig. deticacie]

then the same shall bee no nouelty to them when they come to it ; and theyr bodies shall bee strong, and harder to beare than that they were somewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this that I say be of no credite, if delicacie¹ and tendernes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greatest Empyres that were.

Knight.

[Men can only
bear light armour
now.][² orig. a a][New fine
houses.]

Doctor.

[Building good
for the realm.][³ Fol. 35 : mis-
numberd 30]
[⁴ orig. neigh-
bouos]Of excesse in
building.

Knight.

[Did not the
taking of the
Church
Revenues by the
Crown send
much money
abroad?]

Surely, ye say very wel, and that which soundeth to good reason. I must needs alowe that I haue found true my selfe, for my men are so tenderly vsed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either shirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a² shotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what faye you by our buildinges, that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more exceſſive then at any time heretofore ? Doth not that impouerish the Realme, & caufe men to keepe leſſe Houſes ?

I say that all these thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubtē is cause of leſſe Houſholdes, fith the buildings and trimming of thōſe houses ſpendes away that that ſhould be otherwife ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the moſt part, is ſpent amonget our felues & ³amonget our neighbours⁴ and Countreymen : As amonget Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peinting of theſe Houſes. For in that much treasure may be ſpent, and to no vſe. Also the Arefes, Verderers, and Tapiftry workeſ, wherewith they bee han ged commonly, conueieth ouer into *Flaunderes* & other ſtraunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

Syr, yet I muſt remember you of one thing more, which men do ſuppoſe to be a great occaſion of the ſpendinge of the treaſure abroade ; & it is where there is comen to the crown of late yeaſes much landes, by reaſon of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauntres diſſolued, which men ſuppoſe hath bene the caufe two maner of waies, that there is leſſe treaſure abroade in the Realme. One is, because the reuenues of the ſayd places, diſſolued heretofore, were ſpent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges ; and now are gone to one place out of the countrey. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the ſame, to buy perſelles of the ſayd diſſolued landes, lying commodities for them ; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the countrey is ſweepeſ away.

Truth it is, also, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kynges Maestye had not dispersed the same lands abroad among them in the countrey againe ; but after that his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale, treasure hath and will encrease againe, abroad, asmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes ; so that I take that to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the soyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee ¹[I]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did some Men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent ; and some other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruaunts, and all other lyuing by any rated or stmented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in processe of time. I meruayle how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that the Queenes hignesse Father did winne inestimable great summes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

So it was for the time, but I likен that gaines to such as men haue when they sell away their Lands, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to loose the contynuall increase what should grow therof. For you knowe al the treasure of this Realme must once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abrode againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the Ocean Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe ; then, as they came into the kings coffers at the first in good metall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And, albeit it feemeth at the first viewe to empouerishe but the subiects only, at length it empouerisheth also the Prynce ; and then, if the Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of shippes, gunnes, and other artillary, necessary for the warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiects wherewith to buy the same, what cause should the Realme be in ? Surely in very euill ; & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, *Nerui bellorum*, (that is to say)

Doctor.

[No, it only
transferrd the
possession of the
land from one
man here to
another.]

Knight.

[¹ Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

How the altera[t]ion of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armour and artillery from abroad, with base coin ?]

[Coin the Sinews
of War.]

[¹ Fol. 36]

[We can't have
base or fancy
coin, so long as
we want to buy
foreign goods.]

[Stafford's two
remedies :

1. stop the importation of trifles ;

2. forbid the
export of raw,
unwrought,
materials.]

Knight.

[No Clothiers
wanted here.]

Doctor.

[² Fol. 36, back]

Knight.

[Unemployd
Clothiers the
cause of all
insurrections.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest daunger that I doe consider shoulde growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme ; ¹for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what coyne we woulde ; but since wee must haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee must frame our things, not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde ; and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but follow the price of the vniuersall Market of the World. I graunt, also, that Braffe hath bene coyned ere this ; yea, & Leather in some places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust, (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then the deprauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanes : first, if we forbad the bringing in and sellinge of so many trifles as I before rehersed to be brought vs from beyond the sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities shoulde be fould heere. And seconde, if we forbad that none of our commodities shoulde passe vnwright ouer sea, which being wrought here, and soule ouer, should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time.

Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wise man, which thinke it better that all our wooll were fould ouer so vnwright, then any Clothiers shoulde be set a worke withall within this realme.

That were a straunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man shoulde thinke so ; and what should moue them to be ²of that opynion, I pray you ?

I will tell you. They take it, that all insurrections & vproares, for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers ; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers

idle; And, when they be idle, then they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, sometimes by occasion of warres, there must needes bee some stay of Clothes, so as they cannot haue always lyke sale or vent; at euery which time, if the sayd Clothiers shoulde take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently, that *the woll were vttered vnwrought ouer sea then to haue it wrought here.*

Whether all
our Woll
vvere expedient
to be sold o-
uer vnvwrought

So it may seeme to them that considereth one inconuenience and Doctor.

not another. Surely, whosoeuer hath many Persons vnder his Gouernance shal haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietnesse; and hee that hath a greate family, shal haue sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminishe hys number, for a Maister of a House to put away hys Seruaunts, because he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would so doe might be well resembled to a man that shoulde sell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease *the feate of clothing*, but also intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee set a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; specially such as clothinge is, that setteth so many thousandes a woorke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and clearish euery man that bryngs in ¹ any newe Arte or misterye, whereby the people might be set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the Countrey. And shall we contrarywise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

[We want our
cloth-making
trade increase,
and more trades
brought in.]

[¹ Fol. 37]

Mysteries are
to be increased
rather than di-
minished.

Mary! wee might haue treasure ynough from outward Parties for Knighte. our Woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to set our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee set to the Plough and hufbandry, and that should make hufbandry to

[Set Clothiers to
ploughing.]

A briefe Concept

be the more occupied, & grasing leffe, when all these people that nowe doe occupy clothing should fall to husbandry.

Doctor.

[If every one
bred sheep,

we should have
no men to defend
the realm.
And if Clothiers
turnd Husband-
men, they'd
starve.]

[¹ Fol. 37, back]

[In France are
many trades,
and the artisans
make rows,
but no one wants
to destroy the
men,

who are the
riches of the
land.]

Knight.

As to the first that yee sayd, that Wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure ; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuaunce of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede sheepe, and to increase Wooll, and so at length all other occupations should bee set a fide, and breedinge of sheepe onely occupied ; then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would serue for a whole Shyre ; & so in processe of time the multitude of the subiects should be worne away, and none lefste but a fewe Sheepherds, which were no number sufficient to serue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupation to husbandry ; how coulde so many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same, when they that bee husbandmen nowe haue but a small Lyuinge thereby ? And if yee woulde say to mee that they shoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of ¹their corne ouer sea, then commeth the same inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For some yeres it should happen either for warres, or by reasoun of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they should haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and consequently for lacke of liuing to assemble together, and make like vproaress as ye spake of before.

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale ; and for all that they haue made many greate sturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not destroy Artificers ; for, they know that the highest Prynces of them all, without such artificers, could not maintaine their eftate. Doe not all theyr toules, customes, taxes, tal-lages, and subsidies, chiefly growe by such artificers ? What king can maineteine his eftate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes ? For, as many seruaunts in a house, well set a worke, gaines eny man somewhat to their maister : So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine somewhat ; and altogether, a great masse to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

And now, becaufe we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuision of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort, I recken all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and such as doe sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers, as I reckon them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common Weale but they might be best spared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe ¹cary forth, we should be greate loosers by them. Of the seconde sorte bee these Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Victailers of all sortes, which, like as they get their liuing in the countrey, so they spend it; but they bring in no treasure vnto vs. Therefore, we must clearish well the third sort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their misteries & faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheese, these be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the industrie of a fewe persons; and if wee shoulde onely trust to such, and deuyse nothing els to occupy our selues with, a few persons would serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange, better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be subiecte to the spoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for the nourishment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleeued, which, descriyng thys Ilande, sayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum, que pecora, quam homines benignius alant;* That is to say, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of these things that nourisheth Beastes more kindly then men.' So many Forestes, Chases, Parkes, Marshes, and waste groundes being more here then most commonly elswhere, declare the same not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde moit persons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerse other Countries haue.

Three sortes of Artificers.

[1. Middlemen importers.]

One bringeth out our Treasure.

[¹ Fol. 38, mis-numberd 34]

A nother spend that they get in the same countrey a gayne.

The thrid sort bring in Treasure, and there fore must be cherished.

[Our land brings forth food for beasts rather than men.]

Pomp. Me.

A briefe Conceipt

[Fol 38, back]

[New trades
wanted in
England.]Mysteries doe
enrich coun-
tries that be-
els barren.[See how
Flanders and
Germany are
enriched by their
manufactures.]

Knight.

[? Fol. 39]

Doctor.

Aliaunce vwith
straungers are
to be purchased
and kept.

Therefore, as much grounde ¹as is here apte for these things, would be tourned as much as may be to such vses as may finde moste persons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glasiers, Paynters, Golde-smithes, blacke-smithes of al sortes, Courerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and such other; so as we should not onely haue inough of such thinges to ferue our Realme, and saue an infinyte treasure that goeth now ouer for many of the same; but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be folde ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also saue & winne much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them selues.

And what riches they bringe to the Countries where they be well vsed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through such occupations, it hath so many & eke so wealthy Cities *that* it were almost incredible so little grounde to sustaine so much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, *that* would haue either none or els lesse clothing within this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so commodious or necessary for mans vse, but it is sometimes, by ill handling, occasion of some displeasure, no, not fier and water that be so necessary, as nothing can be more.

Yea, master Doctor, we stand not in like case as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee speake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, ²to whose Countreyes they may fende theyr commodities to sell.

So may wee bee, if wee were so wyfe to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be sure to doe so? Let wyfe men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time past. And if they bee nowe lost or intercepsted another way since, let vs purchase other for them; or els geue as litle occasion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

The Wyse man, as I remember, sayth in *Ecclesiastes* : *Non est bonum homini effe solum.*

Also, in Fraunce they haue diuerse Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerse places of the Realme, to reppresse such Tumults quickly if any shoulde arise. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

GOD sworbot¹ that euer wee shoulde haue any such Tyrauntes come among vs ; for, as they say, such will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouision, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauishe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner sayd the Marchaunt man ; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occasion of Commotions to bee stirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the Stomaks of Englishe men woulde neuer beare to suffer such Injuries and Reproches, as hee heard that such vfed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Pesaunts.

Mary, the Prynce might restrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes.

What if it were skant in his power to do ? the *Romaines* had sometimes such men of armes in diuerse places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer²threw the same. *Iulius Cæsar* doth that declare ; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lyfted, sometime of a Slave or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate of Rome*, being chiefe Counsaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane destroyed ; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce also keepeth such, but the state and necessity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither sea nor wall betwene them, against whose Inrodes and inuasion they mayntayne those men of warr of necessity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durst, for feare of their neighbours. And some wyse men among them haue sayd and written, that the same men of Armes may bee the destruction of their Kingdome at length. And beside that the largenesse of our Dominion, or Situation of the same towarde other Countreyes, doth not require such men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we should make a leſſe number, wee should declare our felues in-

Knight.
Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

Husband.
[¹ Gods forbode,
God's forbidding, p. 74.]
[Tyranny over
the poor in
France.]

Marchaunt.

[French
'Peasants'.]

Knight.

Doctor.

[² Fol. 39, back

[France must
keep troops ;

and yet they
may destroy the
country.]

A lesse grieve
vvould not be
holpen vwith a
greater sore.

Knight.

ferior in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superior in successe, through the stoutenesse of our Englishe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a small sore cured by a greater grieve, nor for auoydinge of populer sedition, which happeneth very feldome and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

Doctor.

You say well, and so as I can say no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying coulde satissie other men as well as it doth mee.

Knight.

Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Marchauzt
& Capper.

I could be content to be troubled longer of that sorte.

And so coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe, gentle maister Doctor.

Knight.

[^t Fol. 40, mis-
numberd 36]

¹ Yet the most necessary poynte which we speake of is yet behinde, that is, how these thinges may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor.

A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part; But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote*. Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood*, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, gods forbott" said the Sheriffe,
"that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forebedyng (or forbode, or forefendyng). *Prohibicio, inhibicio.*"—*Promptorium, ab. 1440 A.D.*]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuised

*some remedies for the same
griefes.*



Fter wee had well refreshed our felues at Knight supper, I thought long til I had knowne *the judgement of mayster Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred*, how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore I sayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maiſter Doctor) our diseases, and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leauie vs not defitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You haue perſwaded vs full, and wee perceave it well our felues, that wee are not now in ſo good ſtate as wee haue bene in times paſt. And you haue ſhewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that caſe, therefore now wee praye you ſhewe vnto vs what mighte remedye theſe our griefes.

[Pray, Doctor,
tell us the reme-
dies for our
country's illis.]

When a man doth perceave his griefe, and the occation also of the Doctor. ſame, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occation of the griefe, a man may ſoone auoide the ſame occation; and that being auoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the Phyloſopher fayth: *Sublata cauſa tollitur effeſtus*. But, let vs briefly recount the griefes and then the occasions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the ſame. First, this vniuersall ¹dearth, in comparison of *that* former age, is *the chiefest griefe that all men complaines moft on*. Secondly, Incloſures, & turning of erable Grounde to paſture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Towneſhippes, and Villages; and laſt, deuision & diuersitie of opinions in religion. The occaſions or cauſes of theſe, although I haue before diuersely

[The illis are,

1. Dearth.
[↑ Fol. 41]

2. Incloſures,
and turning
Arable into
Paſture.

3. Decay of
Townes.

4. Religious
Diuerſitie.

[The Doctor's Prologue.]

The originall cause in every thing is to be searched.

[Analogies of, i. a crowd at a narrow passage;

2. a clock; and

3. the building of a house.]

[The original cause called 'efficient'.]

[¹ Fol. 41, back]

Diuerse sortes of causes there bee.

[The primary cause to be distinguisht from secondary causes.]

Cic top.
Lib. 5.

declared after the diuersitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the same; But only such as I thinke verely to be the very iust occasions in deede. For, as I shewed you before, diuers men diuersly juge this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that gryfe; and because there may be diuers causes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal caufe that bryngeth forth the thinge to passe: Let vs feeke oute *the cause*, omitting all the meane causes, whych are drien forward by the least originall cause. As in a presse going in at a straight, the formost is drien by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by some violent and stronge thinge that dryues hym forwarde, which is the first and pryncipall cause of the puttyngre forwarde of the rest afore him. If he were kept backe and staied, al they that goe afore would stay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the first wheele being styrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the last that moues the Instrument that stryckes the clock; So in making of an house, there is the Mayster that would haue the house made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the stiffe to make the house with al; the stiffe neuer stirres till the Workeman do set it forward; the workeman neuer trauailes but as the maister prouoketh him with good wages: and so he is the pryncipall cause of thys houfe making. And this cause is of the learned called 'efficient'; as that *that bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect*. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall neuer come to passe, yet the houfe can not bee made wythout the stiffe, and worke^lmen; and therefore they be called of some *causæ sine quibus non*, and of some other *Materiales & Formales*; but all commeth to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, *that is*, the pryncipall cause, without remouing of which cause *the thing that cannot be remedied*. And becaule that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that the cause of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall*; Therefore Men tooke the causes of these thynges that we talke of wythout Judgement, not discerning the pryncipall cause from the meane causes, that by taking away of these causes that bee but seconday, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Ajax* that lost her husband in the shipp called *Argos*, wished *that those Firre beames had neuer*

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the sayd shipp was made, whien that was not the efficient cause of the loosing of her husbande, but the wild fire cast in the said shipp, which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of ; so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselues, without some other to set them a worke. And percase, I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose ; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue sayde to the same. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in selleng his wares so deare ; & some other by the Lord, in reysing his land so high. And some by these inclosures. And some other by the reysing of our coine, or ¹alteration of the same. Therefore, some by taking some one of these things away, (as theyr opinion serued them to be the pryncipall cause of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth ; But as the tryall of the thyng shewed, they touched not the cause efficient pryncipall ; and therefore theyr deuise tooke no place : and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cause, that as soone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued also. ² Yet I confesse al these thinges rayseth together with this dearth, that euerie of them should seeme to be the cause of it ; neuerthelesse, that is no good prooife that they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at *Douer*³ the cause of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, because the Hauen began to decay the same time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I haue sayd before, of men thrusting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force ; So in this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the oryginall cause of these causes ; that be, as it were, seconday, and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take the reysing of al prises of victuals at the husbandmans hand, is cause of the raysing of the rent of his land. And *that* Gentlemen fall so much to take fearmes to theyr hands, least they bee driuen to buy theyr p[r]ouision so deare, that is a great cause againe that Inclosure is the more vsed ; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & see it manured in husbndry, which requyreteth the industry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of persons, doe conuerte

[Remote causes
need not be
considered.]

Sublata cau-
sa tollitur
effectus.

[¹ orig. altera-
tion]

[The principal
or efficient cause
of the Dearth
has not yet been
toucht.]

[² Fol. 42]

[Tenterden
steeple and
Dover harbour.]

[³? Tenterden.]

Hovv one
thing is cause
of another, &
that of the
third.

[Is the chief cause of the Death in the Merchant?]

moste of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is requyred both leffe charge of Persons, and of the which neuertheleffe commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but one first of all is *the chiefe cause* of all this circuler motion & impulfion. I shewed, ere while, that *the chiefe cause* was not in the husbandman, nor yet in *the Gentleman*. Let vs see whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the husbandman is dryuen to sel his commodities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maister marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cause from being in you?

Marchaunt.
[¹ Fol. 42, back]

¹Sir, easilly ynough; for as wee sell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all things of straungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will disburden our felues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunswere; if they were, I woludde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

The straungers aunswere touching this death.

[That because our coin was debasd, they wanted more of it for their goods.]

Knight.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. One was, they sellid in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; saying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue asmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Yea, for an ounce of our filuer or golde, as much stufte as euer was geuen for *the same*. And their other answere was, *that* if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they saide, but oures, that made our pieces leffe, or leffe worth then they were in times past. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would consider *the quantity & right value* of it, that they were esteemed at euery where through *the world*.

Then I would haue answered them there of this forte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the matter* to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If so, they might haue

as much of our commodities for the same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde, It was never lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theire wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let
foreigners take
our goods, and
let our coin
alone.]

¹Then he might haue aunswered againe, that it chaunsed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares *that they looked for*. And therefore they, hauinge percase more wares necessary for vs then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stufse currant in most places as might buy that they looked for else where at their pleasure; And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same once conueyed them; As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteeme both the value & quantity of the stufse it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs brasfe mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of siluer then of brasfe, no, not the maister of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, seing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why shoulde they not esteeme our coine after the quantity and value of the substaunce thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amoung vs, & also euery other where? And so as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substaunce that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter? from the straungers; For me thinkes he hath resonably excused himselfe & put it from him.

Doctor.
[¹ Fol. 43]

[But suppose
they don't want
so much good
of us as we do of
them,

²By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Kinges highnes, by whose commaundement the same was altered. Knight.
[² Fol. 43, back]

[why should they,
for the balance,
take our debasd
coin as pure?]

Doctor.

[Henry VIII.,
debased our coin,
thinking that it
'd be a benefit
to the realm ;
but it's been a
great loss.]

Yea, percase it goes further yet; yea, to such as were the first counsfailours of that deed, pretending it shoulde bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditye, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben easly reuoked againe from the practife of that simple deuife. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwise, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maiesy in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposod to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditye to himselfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

Knight.

Then yee thinke plainly *that* this alteration of the coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniversall dearth?

Doctor.

That the alter-
ation of the
coyne vvas the
very cause of
this dearth, and
consequently
of other grief,
euer sinee that
time.

Yea, no doubt, and of many of the sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beside the reason of the thing being plaine enoughe of it self, also experiance & prooife doth make it more playne. For euen with the alteration of the coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, so rose the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, the few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did testifie; for yee shoulde haue for any of that same coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and because this rayfed not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude, ¹I thinke this alteration of the Coine to haue ben the first originall cause that straungers first shoulde their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to sell the same dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayfe their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently to inclose more Groundes.

[¹ Fol. 44]

[The debase-
ment of our Coin
was the original
cause of the
Dearth.]

Knight.

If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heretofore alleaged, it shoulde seeme to be; how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be re-

moued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princesse which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz.
has restord our
Coin to its
original purity.]

In deede, sir, I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first fighte to discredite my former sayinges in forme parte) that, notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to *the* purpose, is well worthy the consideration, so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, *that* perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolute the same.

[True. And the
Dearth still
continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I Knight. vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Well¹, I am content (because you wyl haue it so) to ²yeelde to your importunitie. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgements in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding *that* restitution made in our coin, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose; it must needs happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon *the* reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoeuer any Leafes deuised for terme of yeares by themselues or their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[¹ orig. Wwell!
[² Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of
the dearth of
things.]

[1. The debas-
ing of our coin
by Henry VII
This raised
prices.]

[The raising of
prices raisd
Rents ou Lease]

This raisd the
price of food,
and all other
articles.]

[¹ Fol. 45]

[If we want our
old pen'orths or
prices, we must
get Rents
lowerd.]

[2. The great
increase of
money in our
dayes, from
India, &c.]

[Some years
ago a man with
£30 or £40 a
year was
thought rich.
Now he's con-
sidered next
door to a
beggar.]

Knight.

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old ; Yea, this rackyng and hoyfing vp of Rentes hath continued euer since *that tyme*, vntill this present day. Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day), to fel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them ; and likewise other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares ; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrt time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefeſt efficient caufe, so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forwarde, partly to the racked and stretched rentes, which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would in theſe our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs agayne, The restoring of our good Coine, which alredy is past, (& before the improued rentes would only of it ſelfe haue been ſufficient to haue brought this matter to paſſe,) will not ſerue in theſe our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poſſibly can not be without the common conſent of our landed men throughout the whole realme. Another reaſon I conceiue in this matter to be the great ſtore & plenty of treasure, which is walking in theſe parts of the world far more in theſe our dayes then euer our forefathers haue ſene in times paſt. Who doth not vnderſtand of the infinite ſummes of gold & ſiluer, which are gathered from the Indies & other countries, and ſo yearely tranſported into theſe coſtes ? As this is otherwife moſt cer- taine, ſo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all au- ciente men liuing in theſe daies. It is their conſtant report, that in times paſt, & within the memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe houſe among his neighbors, which, all things diſcharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in theſe our daies the man of that estimation is ſo farre in the common opinion from a good houſe-keeper, or man of wealth, that he is re- puted the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore theſe ii. reaſons ſeemed vnto me to contain in them ſufficient probability for cauſes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

Yea, but (ſir) if the increaſe of treasure be partly the occaſion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great store of gold and siluer, the pryses of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, rayfed according to the increase of their treasure.

It is euen so; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue rehersed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En^{gl}ish wares vnto their old prices, to doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs, on *the other side*, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerishing of the Common weale in a very shorte time.

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this dearth, Knight. and what is to be hoped or wished of *the same*, so fully that I am well satissified withall, I pray you shewe me the remedies of these great Inclosures, whereof al the realme complaineth of so much, and hath complayned long ypon. For you haue well perswaded how it is a meane of greate desolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne so much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon awell in Parliament as in Counsayles, & yet smal remady found therefore that tooke effect.

If I then, after so many wise heades as were in thoſe Parliaments Doctor. and Counsayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they say) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Yet tell your phantasie therein; for though you misse of the right Knight. meane to reforme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

You say truth, and ſince I ſpeak nothing in this part *that* I would Doctor. haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wise men to confider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reaſon ſhall feeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already with your patience to ſay thus farre, I will not ſpare to declare my minde in ²this. But ſtill I muſt keepe my grounde that I ſpoke [2 Fol. 46] of, that is, to try out the effectuall caufe of theſe inclosures, and then, by taking away of the caufe, to redrefſe the thinge.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 45. back]

[Pray tell me the
remedies for the
Enclosures of
Common lands.]

Knight.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

[Avarice is the chief cause of Enclosures.] How Inclosures may be remedied.

[1. Lessen the profit of grazing, or
2. greateren that of tillage.]

Omnis sunt lucri cupidi.

[¹ Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

I pray you doe so; for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phisition tell mee once, when I was fiske of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, saying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that shoulde make me stronger; Then he answere me that choler was *the* cause of my sicknes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease once taken away, the sicknes shoulde bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fansie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for the principall cause thereof; but can we devise *that* all couetousnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they se grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you: Either by the minishing of the luker that men haue by grasing; Or els by aduaunsing of the profit of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grasing is; for euery man (as *Plato* faith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they see ¹ most luker, they will most gladly exercise. I shewed you before, that there is more luker by grasing of x. Acres to the occupier alone, then is in the tillage of xx. And the causes thereof be many: one is, *that* grasing requires small charge & small labor, which in tillage consumes much of the mens gaines; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maister & all his mainy, then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is rered vpon grasing, hath free vente both ouer this syde & also beyond the sea, to

be sold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all things reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of seruaunts & of labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne, it paith scant for the charge of the tillage. And then if the market doe arise, either within *the Realme* or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selleng his corn, *that he neuer after shall haue any ioy to set his plough in the ground*; which maketh euery man forsake tillage and fall to grasing, which bringeth in all these Inclosures.

[Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that?

Knight.

Doctor.

Mary! as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grasing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, pasture, *pratum*, that is as much to say as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman might haue asmuch liberty at all times to sel his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the grasier hath to sell his; which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other, seeing them thriue, would turn theyr pasture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunse the market for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to be vfed, and consequently more Corne, which in time of plentye within this Realme might bringe in much treasure; & in time of scarfity would suffice for *the realme*, as I shew'ed you before.

[ⁱ: Fol. 47]

And thus with luker they shoulde bee entysed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red *that* in this realme sometyme there was such a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of misaduenture, mought haue taken the Plough tayle for his sainctuary. Also *that* occupation was had so honourable amonge the *Romains*, *that* one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Confull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no scorne to resort to the same feate againe. What occupation is so necessary or so profitable for mans life as this is? Or what mistery is so voyd of all craft as the same is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it despised, that many in these daies repute them but as villains, pesaunts, or slaues, by whome *the proudest of them* haue their liuings. So that I maruaile much there is any (seing such a vility & contempt of the thing) will occupy thefeat of husbandry at all; For as honour nourisheth all sciences, so dishonor must needes decay them. And there-

Pratum quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[¹ Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt.

Of Tovvnes decayed.

Doctor.

fore if ye will haue husbandry encreased, ye must honor & cherish it; that is, to let them haue honest gaines thereby; & since that gains shall come into youre countrey, why shoulde you be offended therewith? Another way is to abate the commodity of grasing, as when any taxe is requisite to be graunted to the Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture asmuch as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & such things as are reared by grasing, that passe to the partes beyond the sea vnwrought, with double tallage ouer any corn transported; and by enhaunsing the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of grasing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied and grasing much leſſe; And therby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old timeordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto also; that is, where men are enter comminers in the common fields, & also haue their portions so entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of the sayd fields so long as it is so. ¹But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by grasing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them so many acres in this place for so many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it. For the auoидing whereof, I think verely that it was so of olde timeordeined, that every Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterclosed with his neighbors landes, so as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbour should haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiij., and so after the like rate be the most partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were still so continued, for auoyding of the sayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching that matter.

Now that you haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your minde what shoulde be the occasion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hospitalles; and how the same may be remedied and releeued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but Citizens and Burgeses finde as much within theyr walles

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phansie in all these

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the good occupations heretofore vsed in the sayd Townes were occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore, if such occupations may be reuyued againe in the same, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.*

I beleue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes; but what, I pray you, was¹ the occasion of such decay of the occupations?

I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garnentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stiffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the pooreſt younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And ſpecially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or fyrtle, in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the ſea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and ſpecially of the townes beyond the ſeaes, are well set a worke, euen vpon our coſtes. Therefore I would wiſh ſome ſtay were deuized for comming of ſo many trifles from beyond the ſea, and ſpecially of ſuch things as might be made here among our ſelues; or els might bee either all ſpared, or els leſſe vsed amoung vs; as theſe drinking and looking glaſſes, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, aglettes, buttons, and a thouſande other thinges of like forte. As for ſilkes, wines, and ſpice: if there came leſſe ouer, it made no matter. But ſpecially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſold here, but that all thoſe ſhould be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs that our owne people were ſet a worke with ſuch thinges then ſtranglers? I am ſure xx. thouſand perſons might be ſet a worke within this realme, that are ſet a worke beyond ſea with thoſe thinges that now

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

Marchaunt.

[¹ Fol. 48]

Doctor.

The occation of the decay of our Townes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made girdles, &c.; now no poor man is ſo, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All muſt come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We ſhould ſtop this; either make trifles here, or elſe not uſe them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) ſhould be imported.]

[This would ſet 20,000 people to work.]

[¹ Fol. 48, back]

[We might make
all kinds of cloth
and clothes
here,

also paper,

all leather goods,
glass, cards,
chessmen ; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money
for these now
goes abroad.]

[Three sorts of
traders.]

[1. Importers
send our money
away.

2. Other trades-
men spend their
earnings in the
country.]

[² Fol. 49]

[3.]
That arte is to
be most chea-
rished in a
tovvne that
brings most
to the tovvne.

be made beyond the Sea, and ¹might be made here ; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. persons through the whole yeare, and burden his treasures with neuer a penny thereof ?) I think these things might be wrought here, not onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serue the realme, but also to serue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kersey, Worstedes, Courlets, & Carpets of tapestry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hosyn, Peticotes, and Hattes ; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloves, poyntes, gyrdles, skins for Ierkins ; and of tinne all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of glasse, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and chesses, since we will needes haue such things ; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, fawes, cheseells, axes, & such things made of yron. might not wee bee ashamed to take all these things at straungers hands, & set such a multitude of their people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee sau'd within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came ? And in setting vp of these occupations, I would haue them most preferred and cherished, that bring most commodity and treasure into the countrey ; as yee must consider three sortes of occupations : one that carrieth out the treasure ; the seconde sort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey ; the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first sorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdashers ; these galley men, Mercers, Fustian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries that selleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the seconde sorte are Viȝtaylers, Inholders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Joyners, Masons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and ² Hoopers ; which, like as they conuey no money out of the countrey, so they bringe none in ; but where as they get it they spend it. Of the thyrd sorte bee these clothiers, cappers, worsted-makers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe reckon, that brings into the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be vsed, and where they bee not, they would be set vp ; and also other scienses moe, as making of glasse, making of S vords, Daggers,

Knives, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; also making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Coutry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Coutry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly maintained by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in *Venice* (that most florishing citie at these daies of al *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye; for it is a wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himselfe doth not gaine to his owne commodite but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one Worstedmaker brings into the towne where he dwelles, and how many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to the towne where he dwels, truly I can not sufficiently declare, for by a few worstedmakers the same townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell¹ them out; as I haue knownen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come² from straunge parties to some Cityes within this Realme, entending to set vp theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but specially because they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those Misteries in those Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them first.

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as Capper, free in a City or Towne as they that were prenties there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were so.

I sayde not that they shall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunce chise; but as one crafte makes but one particular companie of a Towne or City, so I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraanchise of one craft or misterry;

[Fresh trades to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of points.]

Tovvnes are enriched wvith some one trade.

[Venice entices skilful workmen to it.]

[See what money one Worstedmaker brings to a town!] [¹ Fol. 49, back]

[² orig. comemon] [We foolishly drive strange skilful workmen out of our towns.]

Doctor.

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decaying town, should be given house-rent, and lent money.]

[¹ Fol. 50]

[² off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

for, though commonly none should be admitted there to worke but such as are free, yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enstrucute them of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe into the Towne much commodity beside, I woulde in that case haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges gieue place to a publique weale; and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or setting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes as were either sometimes exercized well there, or might bee by reason of the situation and commodity of the same Towne, I woulde haue such craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to thoſe Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theſe Freedome, yea, theſe house rente ¹free, or ſome ſtocke lent them of the common ſtocke of ſuch townes; and when the towne is wel furnished of ſuch Artificers, then to ſtay the comming in of Foreners. But while *the* towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of ² any ſtrounge artificers; for the moft parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all fortes, but ſpecially by thoſe *that* make any wares to ſell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treasure into the fame: As clothiers, cappers, worſted-makers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, fmythes of all fortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourfers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basket makers, and many other ſuch. As for the mercers and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot fee what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houſholdes, and in ſteade thereof empouerifh ten times as many. But ſince men wil needes haue filkes, wine, and ſpice, it is as good that men do ſpend theſy money vpon ſuch in their owne towne as to be dryuen to ſeeke the fame further. As for the reſt of the artificers, like as I ſaid before, euen as they take no money out of the Countrey, ſo they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Maſons, Bouchers, vittailers, & ſuch like. Alſo an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieuē oure Townes decayed; if they would take order that al *the* wares made there ſhould haue a ſpeciall marke, and that marke to be fet to none but to ſuch

as be truely wrought. And also that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) should bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are first approued and sealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fy[r]ste ¹by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be sold; Secondly, by restraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, & other commodityes from passing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be sol[d]e outward, & these wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee sold;—I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be soone restored to theyr aunceynt wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artificers to be affiliated to some town.]

[¹ Fol. 50, back]

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the last matter ye spake of: how these diuersties of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes great sedition and devision among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, *the Man and his Wyfe*, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the foresayd losses of wordly² goods. For if wee were never so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amounge our selues, wee shoulde lycke our selues hoale againe in shourt space.

[What's the remedy for our Religious Differences?]

[² worldly]

Yee say truth: with concord, weake things do encrease & waxe Doctor big; And contrarywise, with discorde strong thinges waxe weake. And it must needs be true that truth it selfe sayth: ‘Euery kingdome deuided in it selfe shal bee desolate.’ Wherefore I cannot forbeare to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & stll I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the oryginall caufe, and by takinge awaie of that to shew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof, aswel the finnes of them that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first, of ours, that haue swarued altogether from their due course, order, and profession, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to ³the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men, seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Concordia que res crescent, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[³ Fol. 51]

[While Ministers
livd up to what
they preacht, all
men obeyd
them.]

The occasiōn of
the scysme in
matters of reli-
gion.
[is the sin of
Ministers ; and
unless they
reform, schism
'll not cease.]

Knight.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy have
been beaten ;
but with little
good result.]

How many
more of us live
in our parishes
now ?]

to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctryne yee shouide gieue credence, whome yee fee in lyuing far discrepant from the same. And therefore ye take vpon you *the iudgment of spirituall things*, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for so long as the ministers of the church were of those maners & conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long all men, yea, the greatest prynces of the worlde, and the wyest men, wer content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that soule*; and since we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryſt suffered flaunder by our finfull liuing. So we haue gieuen the fyſte occasion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an instrument to worke this scysme withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to diſemble oure owne faultes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our felues fyſt, I can haue no great truft to see this generall scysme and devision in religion vterly taken away; it may, percaſe, wyth authority be for a time appeased, but neuer ſo as it ſpryngē not againe, except wee reforme oure felues fyſt.

Mary ! and I thinke yee haue ben wel disciplined & corrected already, ſo as yee had good caufe to bee reformed, as by taking much of your poſſeſſions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with ſubſidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more ?

Yea, no doubtē wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue ferued, but ſome maifters with litle beating will ¹teach theyr ſchollers better then other with more ftrypes can doe; and agayne, ſome ſchollers will be reformed with leſſe beating then other. So you and we doe now: you in beatinge inough, but litle teachinge; and wee agayne, little regarding *the ftrypes*, doe learne as litle. For, notwithstanding these punishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and opening of our faultes, ſee how many of vs haue reformed our felues, yea, ſo much as in our outwardē duties, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how many moe of vs haue reforted to our benefices to be reſident thereon, which not onely by the fayd lawes, but alſo vpon greate penalties wee

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme ! How many leſſe now then before haue ſtudied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee ſcante able to diſcharge one of them ! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittynge of minifters of the church ? What more exaſte ſearche is made by our Bifhops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of foules ? What better execution of our canons and decrees doe our Bifhoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their viſitationes now, then they did before ? Yea, what better hofpitality, reſidence, or miniftation eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byſhops now, then they did before ? doe they not lurke in theyr mansions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and ſcant once a yeare will ſee their principall church, where they ought to be continually reſident ? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all theſe plagues that God ſendes to them ? But they are ſo blynded, that they cannot ſee wherfore they be thus puniſhed, & conſtrue it to be for other cauſes, as by the couetouuſnes of lay men in deſiringe theyr Poſſeffions by a hatred conceiued agaynſte them, for not obteyning theyr purpose ²at men of the Chur¹ches hand². Or for that they cannot abyde the correſtione of the church, or ſuch other cauſes as they immagine with themſelues ; And thiſke that the indignation againſt them ſhortly will flake of it ſelfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rathere. How can men be content to pay *the tenth* of theyr goods which they gette with theyr ſore labour and ſweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghostly comforde nor bodely ? what layman will be any thing ſcrupulous to keepe thoſe tythes in his owne handes, when hee fees vs doe nothing more then hee for it ? what credite w[i]ll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they fee ſo light in lyuing ? what reverencē will they gieue our perſonnes, in whose manners they fee no grauity ? But to paſſe from theſe matters to others. There be moft godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auſtority of Counſayles generally, that all Archdeacons ſhould viſite in perſon yearlye theyr precinctes. The Bifhop euery three yeares to ſee *the whole Diocelſe*, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forthwith, and the generall at the next Synode ; and therefore they haue

[The ſins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-reidence, Pluraliuies, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Viſitationes.]

Bifhops lurk in mansions, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.]

[1 Fol. 52]
[2—2? at church-men's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tithes, when we do nothing for 'em?] [Archdeacons and Bifhops bilt the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.]
 [Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.]

They take
money too
for holding
Synods, but
never hold 'em.]

[¹ Fol. 52, back.
Catchword
Whereby]

[And yet
reformation was
never more
needed than
now.]

[Good laws we
have; but we
won't keep 'em.]

Then laymen
should make us.]

[If we Clergy
want schism to
cease, let us
reform
ourselves.]

theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered, but the cause wherefore it was geuen, nothinge kept; the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, absolved after the like sorte; where euery bishop should yerely keepe a sinode in his dioecese of all euangelicall persons, and euery archbishop a finod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the dioecese worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bishop, or could not be reformed without greater auuthority then the Bishoppes alone. ¹ Where bee these sinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire sinodals of the poore priests; of such good ordeneance & godly there is nothing kept, but *that* which is their owne priuat commodity, which be *the procurations & sinodals*; *the other part* wherefore *that* charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were *that both the one & the other* were taken away, then to haue *the good parte* taken & the worse to remaine. If they will say *that* there needeth nowe a daies no such visitation nor synods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe things to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more necessary. But our prelats would say they dare make no lawes in such finods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what should let them to put these in execution that be already made, specially since they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and for restrayning of plurallitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our selues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuersation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profession, and that the religion of them suffereth flaunder, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults shalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this scisme taken away from christes church, let vs first reform our selues & put our lawes in execution, as in resorting to our benefices to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selues wyth one

Benefice a piece, and wthy the lyninge that is appointed to vs for our ministracion, without denising of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath his lyning, and to do his office for that he hath *the benefite of?*¹ And seeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reason is it that one man should haue two mens liuings, & two mens charge, where he is able to discharge but one? Then to haue moe, & discharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some, percase, will say, there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of sundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let every man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leave the first and take *the better*, for the meanest Benefice is a sufficient liuinge for some man, which should be destitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like should be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue such meane benefices be more commonly resident, and keepe better holsipitality on the same, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, ‘*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*’ Nowe looke throughe a whole Diocesse, you shall not finde xx. persons resident that may dispende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resident ouer the same. What temperal office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall and of greater charge? I pray God send our Prelats Eyes to see these Enormities; for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see them. And then I doubt not but all delayes set a part they will reforne them; and if they do not, I pray God send our Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their seculer power. And to study for the reformation ²of them, rather then for theyr poffessions, Christian Princes beare not their swards in vayne; nor yet is it so straunge a thing to see Christian princes reforme the Prelates that swarue from their duties. Thus far be it spoken

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[¹ Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We have benefices from 1000 to 20 marks a year, for men according to their capacity.]

[The poor clergy live at home more than the rich.]

[We haven't 20 resident Parsons with £40 a year.]

Not 1 Person in 4 is resident.

If the Bishops won't reforrn this, I hope to God the laity will.]

[² Fol. 53, back]

[The presumption of ill-informed laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicer de offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in the part of the laitye. [orig. dutye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[Fol. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

touching the reformation of them *that be mynisters of the Church.* Now to speake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must vnderstand, that al *that* geue them selues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the one* is to take these things *that we knowe not* for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good space and great diligence in consideration of things, ere they come to geue judgement of the same; *the other vice*, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary. Let vs now consider, and those faults be not among you at these dayes, ye be all now studious to knowe the vnderstanding of holy scripture. And well, for there can be no better desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man; but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the consideration or study of scripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuersie, greeuing to quicke assent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue considered what might be sayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely seene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of *the lawe* not past iii. yeares, more ready to affoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after *that* he hath studied the law xii. or xiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, so it is in a young Grammarien, Logitian, Rethoritian, & so of al other sciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to ¹speake the firste v. yeares *that* they came to him, which lesson I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee gaue any judgement in matters of holy scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more scrupulouse to geue an awnswere in high thinges then yee be now; and this harme commeth of rashe judgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vtred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what so euer he readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenaunce of his

opinion; yea, and wil force that side, not onely with his wordes and perswasions, but also with that powre and authority *that he hath*, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion, as many as he can, as though his Opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of the same. By such meanes, if we feeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the best side *that getteth the ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted*. it is not like in the disceptacion & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wrestling; for he that hath the ouer hand in these thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is sometimes put to silence, or otherwise vanquished in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conquest of truth on his side. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what shoulde wee deuide our selues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly discussed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of such things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vse any vyolence agaynst the other to bring them by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most part of them, to whom *the discusion of such things appertayneth vnto*, ¹ doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to deside such controuersies; and since this contencion must once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percase more harme shal haue ensued of this daungerous Scisme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene seene, of such sort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what losse of Christian men, what diminishing of the Christian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occasion of? did it not seperate and feuer at length all *Asia* and *Affricke* from the Christian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked supersticion, of the *Turke* grafted ouer this *Arrian Sect*? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuision more daungerous then that which growtheth of matters in Religion, so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apostles, who first tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all contiouersies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost, as his promise is,

[Truth doesn't always get the most votes.]

[Why should seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

As Constantyne the great did in the time of Arius.

[¹ Fol. 54, back]

[Let all questions be discuss'd by experts, and the majority decide.]

[The only way to stop divisions is to have a General Council.]

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome [or Pope] is a difficulty.]

Hovv this scisme might be remedied.

[* Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on
(1.) the pay of the clergy, or
(2.) points of Religion,

Let the Clergy settle (2.), and the secular powers (1.).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight.

Marchaunt,
Husband,
& Capper.

Doctor.

wilbe presente in euyer such assembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say, though wee would for our partes set a fide parciality, and be indifferent and vse no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that shoulde fauour our partes, who can promise that the Byshoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe the same? Surely, if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more subiect to affections then yee be. But I shalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswell as in other thinges. I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuersie to be of one of these sortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Mynisters ¹of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wilhe *that* they had onely the discuscion thereof, which ought and haue vsed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the same; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the discuscion of the seculer powers, because it concerneth seculer thinges onely; where no man neede mistrust, but that the Maiefrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that serueth so honorable a roume as the ministracion of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wilhe in thinges touching the byshop of *Rome*, & his iurisdi^ction, *that* he should be set a part, & some other indifferent persons chosen, by christian Princes, to direct or be Presidents in the Counsayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it please Christian Princes to hould a counsayle with that Whore of *Babylon*,) for no man is meete to be a Judge in his owne cause. Here I haue but briefly touched the summes of things after my simple phantacie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

I am sorry that it is so late that wee must needs depart nowe.

And so bee wee, in good fayth; but wee truft ere you departe the towne, to haue some communication wyth you agayne.

I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing *that* my simple iudgement will reach vnto you) you shall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue spoken any thing which may

bee prejudicall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yelde to the iudgement of any other man that can shew how all these griefes, or the more part of them,¹ may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thousande in this lande I may worste speake in such a wayghty matter. And so here for this presente I take my leue of you all.

[The Doctor's
willing to yield
to any wiser
Doctor of the
Social Evils of
his day.]
[¹ Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time ; but on the morrowe, when Knight. I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembred at the least in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity shoulde serue, I might bryng forth some of his Reasons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunswereed otherwise then I could. And therefore I haue noted the fayd communication briefly of this forte, as you see.

[I've set down
shortly the
Doctor's
reasons.]

• • •

F I N I S.

I M P R I N T E D
at London in Fleetstrete,
neere Vnto Saincte Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marphe.

A P P E N D I X.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS. 1148, leaf 395.*]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (afte
the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling
moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme
was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of
hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneys,
for soþe convenient tyme, and with soþe kynde of moderation
therein: Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses
newely happened, moved and induced, though to hir owne private
greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme
and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other
cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt
owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the princi-
pall: the one by spredding thoroughe the realme of rvmors that frome
one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decryed, meanyng
thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determi-
nation, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation,
but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyd, by reason the same
rvmors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens
heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors,
and onely vppon covetoosnes furdering the same, have allredy vniuers-
sally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, accord-
ing to the rate as though the moneys were alredy decryed. And
nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the
decrye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rvmors, so con-
stantly and depely settled in mens heades; and thereafstre the prices of
all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneys be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycrafte-men, and such like, but also all serving-men, Soldiors and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenaunce; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of such a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necesstie ought to haue followed) to make such a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordene; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, afre this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withoute chaunge, being in very dede the Standard that hathe contynewd and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvijth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth:

| | | | | | | |
|----------|-----|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| ffyne | The | Souerayne Royall Angell half Angell | That was curraunt for | xxx s. xv s. x s. v s. | Shalbe curraunt for | xx s. x s. vj s. viij d. ijj s. iiiij d. |
| Crowne | The | Souerayne half souerayne Crown half crowne | That was curraunt for | xx s. x s. v s. ijj s. vjd. | Shalbe cur- raunt for | xij s. iiiij d. vj s. viij d. v s. xx d. |
| Straunge | The | ffrenche crowne Burgundion crowne | That was curraunt for | vj s. vj s. | Shalbe curraunt for | iiiij s. iiiij s. |

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth:

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|
| ffyne | The | Shilling half shilling Quarter shilling Three half pence Three farthinges | That was curraunt for | xij d. vj d. ijj d. jd. ob. ob. q. | Shalbe curraunt for | vij d. iiiij d. ij d. jd. ob. |
|-------|-----|---|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneys curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even reckoning one by one, Hir maiestie meanyng that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumberson to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, though he it shalbe to hir pryuate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneys as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auncyent fame and wealthe of this realme ; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and enyoouse persons, that either of ignoraunce or malice shall deprave this noble acte : Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryuate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the
fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the
Abassing of Coynes

NOTES.¹

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587. . . .

"The *Briefe Concept* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dozen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares); p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prixes of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing); p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doc asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .); p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.); p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547); p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recovered his aunciente goodnesse'); p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Forewords, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

¹ The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

Notes.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeal'd at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot.* Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Conceipt* :—

“The difference between us as to the author of the ‘*Compendium*’ is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth’s Lady of the Bedchamber.

“Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

“William, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham’s. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council ‘knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.’ Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height ; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

“January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association ‘*against popish conspirators*,’ which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth’s hold over the Scottish Queen’s liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth’s signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary’s life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

“Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham’s, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford : otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy ; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in.*" This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspere over and over again : *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher" ; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company" ; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . . that they had.*" Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. compleate. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in -e common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, uprighte, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear.* Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth.* "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in -eth was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot : *any*. Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some ?

p. 34. *Meany* : cp. Chaucer, *meynē, Kn̄ts. Ta.* l. 400 ; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland :

" Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English Old English in are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they Weisford and Fingall. terme a spider, an attercop ; a wisp, a wad ; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket ; a sillibucke,¹ a copprous ; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I judge) ; a physician, a leach ; a gap, a shard ; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton ; the houshold or folks, *meanie* ; sharpe,

¹ Sillybauk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire*.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth¹ or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As Bater. for the word ‘bater,’ that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have obserued : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For The pronunciation of the Irish women. the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronunciation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.”—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed’s Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

French Soldier. Est il impossible d’echapper la force de ton bras?

Pistol. Brass, cur!

Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,

Offer’st me brass?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. “*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*” This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine’s Village Communities, Lect. III.

p. 49. “*Surely common . . . men the more.*” Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : “For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . .”

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : “I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stiffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkewoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

¹ A.S. eaſe, eſe.

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener*: the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses*: on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 Hen. IV., II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glassee vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in prysse."—F.

p. 51. *vile cliae, &c.*: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple (pebble) stones and Ferne rootes*. Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venetian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselves with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone."—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad*. Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare*. Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance*," fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in countenance."

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . . truth on his side*." There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| A, to, p. 27. | Chargeable, p. 46, expensive. |
| A doe, to do, p. 15. | Cheape, <i>sb.</i> p. 35, bargain, price. |
| Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. <i>avis.</i> | Chearished, p. 47. Fr. <i>cherer</i> , to cheere, to cherish, &c. |
| Afore, before, p. 22. | Civilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law. |
| Agayne, <i>prep.</i> against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot. | Civile, p. 21, civilized. |
| Aglettes, tagged points, p. 50. | Civility, p. 26, civilization. |
| Appayred, grew worse, p. 80. | Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed. |
| Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66. | Close, p. 14, private. |
| Assay, p. 45, try. | Come in place, p. 30. |
| Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96. | Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot. |
| Assuered, p. 43, sure. | Competently, p. 49, enough. |
| Away, <i>for</i> do away, p. 66. | Compleate, p. 23, completely. |
| Basing, p. 49, cowering. | Conceipt, conception, idea, p. 67. |
| Ben, p. 80, been. | Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison. |
| Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen. | Conjunct, p. 23. |
| Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424. | Conservation, p. 15, preservation. |
| Bouchers, p. 71, butchers. | Considered <i>of</i> , for <i>by</i> , p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34. |
| Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46. | Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note. |
| Broode, <i>sb.</i> breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10. | Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot. |
| But, only, "liveth but a hundredth," p. 22. | Damozins, p. 54, damsons. |
| By, during, "lived <i>by</i> all that space," p. 23, and p. 26. | Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot. |
| By, on, "lived <i>by</i> their day wages," p. 16. | Declination, decline, p. 65. |
| By course, in order, p. 63. | Devise, p. 12. Fr. " <i>Devis</i> : m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." — Cotgrave. |
| By likelihood, p. 82, probably. | Disception, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. |
| By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being. | Fr. " <i>Disception</i> . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter." — Cotgr. |
| Can, know, p. 25. | |
| Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism. | |

- Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
 Dispend, p. 95, spend.
 Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot,
 displeasing.
- Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
 Eke, p. 72, also.
 Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.
 Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot,
 search out, seek for.
 Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-com-
 moners.
 Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.
 Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
 Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot,
 ploughable, arable.
 Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
 Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
 Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the
 gospel.
 Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it
 on, p. 44, l. 15.
- Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr.
 “*faict*: m. A fact, act, motion, . . .
 also, an allegation, proposition,
 argument, or article, in pleading.”
 —Cotgrave.
- Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p.
 69, l. 19.
- Fetched at, p. 51.
- For, before infinitive, for to helpe,
 p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider*.
- Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
- Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine
 cloth.
- Furniture of her warres, equipment
 for them, p. 24.
- Garded, braided, ornamented, p.
 64, l. 6 from foot.
- Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p.
 65, l. 19, 20.
- Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
- Goeth clear, is free from blame,
 p. 27.
- Good, better, best, used as a term
- of comparison, “good cheap,” a
 good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
 Graffe, graft, p. 24.
 Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
 Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.
- Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
 Handy labour, p. 41.
 Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
 Have in charge, p. 11.
 Him, it, p. 82.
 His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
 Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
 Holpen, p. 33, helped.
 Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
 Husband, farmer, husbandman, p.
 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.
- Image, p. 12, picture.
 Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
 In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p.
 15; maner, welt: “well maner
 of things.”
- Inning, p. 24, getting in.
 Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.
- Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
 Least, p. 77, lest.
- Leaver, p. 37, rather.
- Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
 Licked themselves whole, p. 28,
 91.
- Longe of, result of, modern vulgar
 along of, p. 16.
- Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain,
 profit.
- Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in sup-
 port of.
- Manurance, holding or handling (?),
 p. 63.
- Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate.
 Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328: “sterile
 with idleness or *manured* with
 industry.”
- Meane, p. 41, means.
- Meany (mainy, p. 84), household,
 following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

- Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
 Minish, p. 19.
 Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
 Moe, more, p. 22.
 More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
 Mought, p. 80, might.
 Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
 Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
 Myne, p. 68, my.
 Neare, p. 76, nearer.
 Non, not, p. 23.
 Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
 Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.
 Occasion, take, p. 69.
 Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
 Occupier, p. 89.
 Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
 Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
 Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p. 18, *for* on.
 On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
 Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
 Other, for others, p. 15.
 Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
 Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.
 Paines, punishments, p. 47.
 Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
 Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
 Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-case.
 Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
 Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
 Peruse, p. 63, examine.
 Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
 Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
 Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
- Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
 Prety while, a, p. 32.
 Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.
 Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot.
 ‘Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. “*Chi-dro scuro*, a darke puke colour,” Florio, p. 97.’—Halliwell’s Glossary.
 Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
 Purchased, procured, p. 25.
 Pylate, p. 26.
 Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
 Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
 Remember, remind, p. 66.
 Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
 Resemble, compare, p. 26.
 Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
 Respect, to have, to, p. 28.
 Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
 Romth, space, p. 57.
 Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escritture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookees.
 Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
 Selled, p. 78, sold.
 Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
 Sette, lease at a fixt rent: “sette your land,” p. 35; “price is so set,” p. 35.
 Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
 Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
 Should, p. 22, 37, would.
 Sith, p. 30, since.
 Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
 Slake, p. 93.
 Smarte, p. 81.
 Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

- Spake, p. 32, spoke.
 Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
 Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
 Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
 Stent, *sb.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
 Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
 Stricke, strike, p. 60.
 Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
 Such who, p. 27.
 Suerty, p. 30, safety.
 Sweepe, swept, p. 66.
- Taken, p. 12, considered.
 Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "taille: f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
 Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
 Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
 That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
 That, *for* those, p. 23; *for* that which, p. 22; *for* what, p. 12.
 This, *adv.* thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot.
 Thorough, p. 30, through.
 To, in addition to, p. 23.
 Trade, p. 91.
 Travailc, p. 21.
 Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
 Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.
 Understood, understood, p. 56.
 Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
 Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
 Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.
- VERBS.
- Infinitive Mood*, used for Subjunctive.
- Societie to grow, p. 49.
 to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
 in hope to come, p. 16; ground to sustaine, p. 72.
- Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.
 "I . . . confess . . . that, . . . yet the dearth . . . to remain and continue," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.
- Used for Present Participle.
 have given over to live, p. 17;
 heard of it to do, p. 54.
- Past Participle* in -en.
 are growen, p. 59.
 is comen, p. 66.
- Indicative Mood*, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in -eth.
 Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
 Conueieth, p. 66.
 Standeth, p. 31.
 Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:
 some excelles, p. 12; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15; inclosures . . . causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.
 Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "Ouvrage de verdure, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.
 Vente, p. 84, last line; course.
 Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.
 Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.
 Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.
 Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.
 Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.
 What, p. 18, which.
 Whether, p. 79, where, whither.
 Which, p. 14, who.
 Whom, p. 21, those with whom.
 Wist, p. 45, knew.
 Would, p. 41, should.

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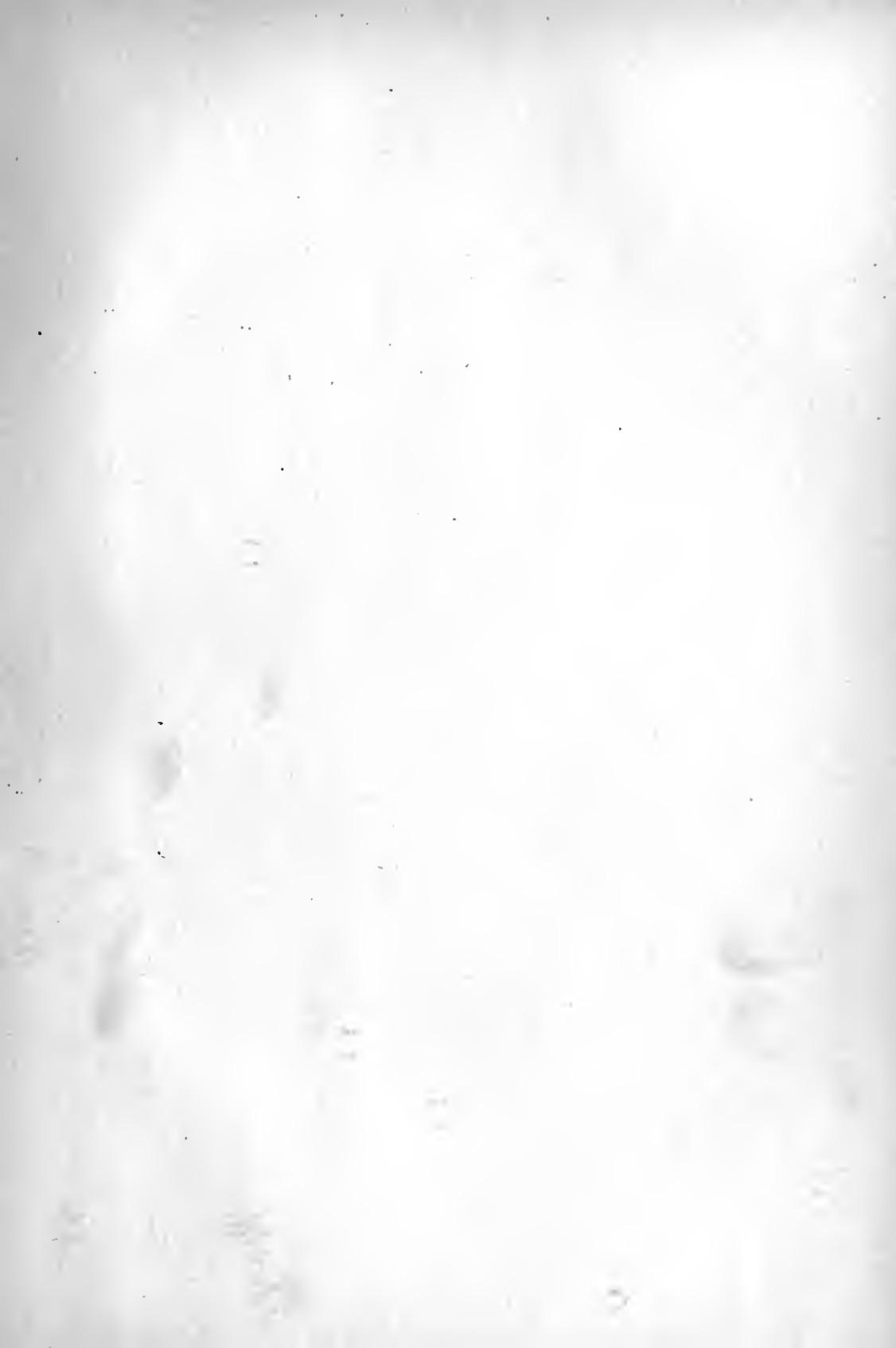
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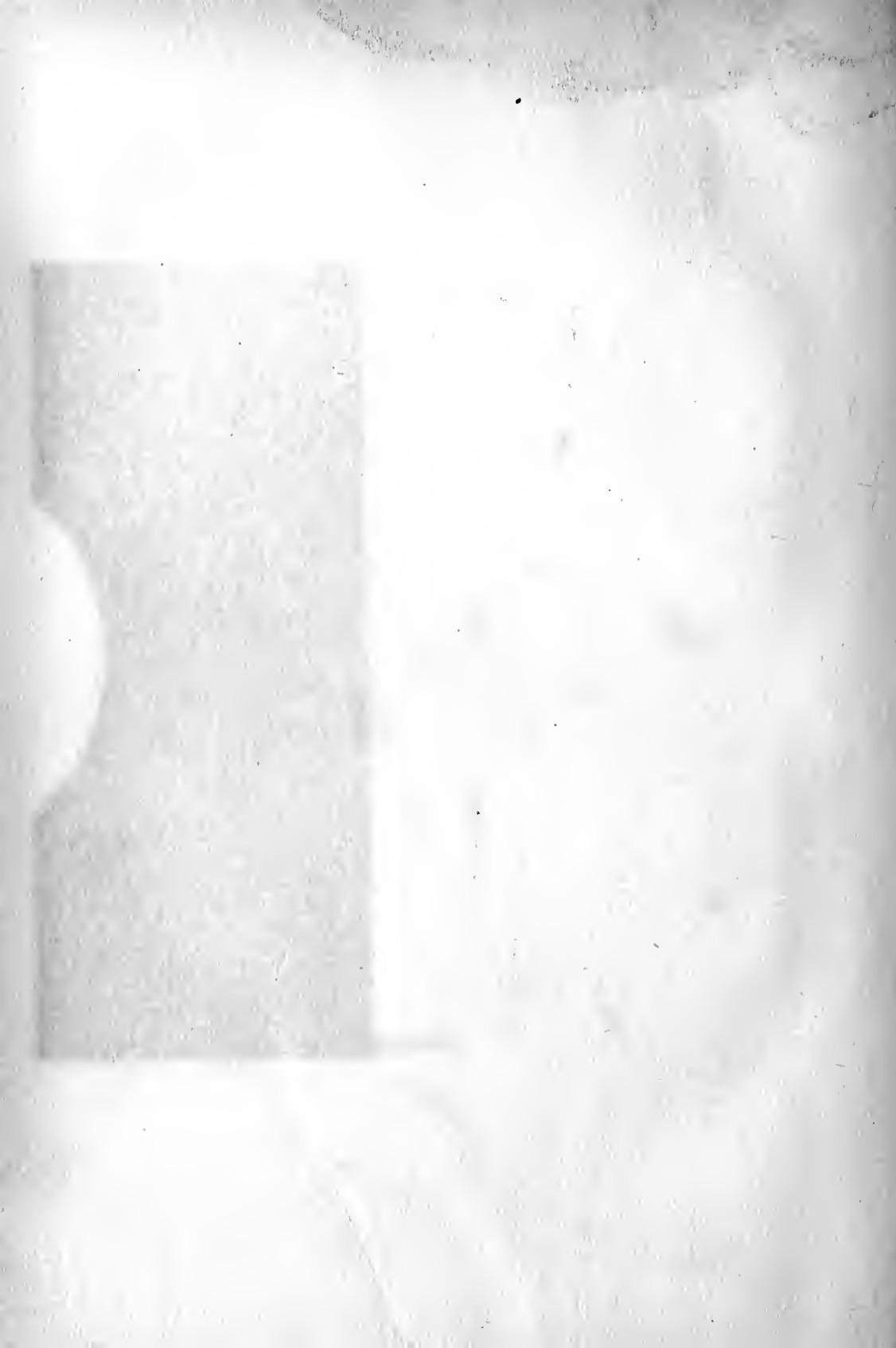
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